Vaiṣṇava Tilakas

Sectarian marks worn by worshippers of Viṣṇu

A. W. Entwisle

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RASHTRIYA SANSKRIT SANSTHAN DEEMED UNIVERSITY (UNDER MINISTRY OF H.R.D. GOVT. OF INDIA)
ACCESSION NO. 25811
DATE 28/3/08

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VRINDAVAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE
Vrindavan

Cover : Radha Madan Mohan Temple & Ramanuji Tilak

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Vrindavan Research Institute, Vrindavan
Second Edition, 2003

Price : Rs. 150/-

Published by :

VRINDAVAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE
Raman Reti, Vrindavan (U.P.)
Phone : (0565) 2540628, Fax : (0565) 2540576
E-mail : vrivbn@sancharnet.in
Website : www.thevri.org/vrindavanresearch.org

Printed by : Chitralekhaa, Bagh Bundela, Loi Bazar, Vrindavan

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FOREWORD

Where is the Life we have lost in living ?
Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge ?
Where is the knowledge we have lost in information ?
The cycles of Heaven in twenty centuries
Bring us further from God and nearer to the Dust.

The mood of disillusion and despair characterised by these lines from T.S. Eliot's *Choruses from the 'Rock'* may narrate a tale which seems true in the context of the attitude of the modern world to all things spiritual. Engrossed in gross materialism, man tends to forget that 'Visible and invisible, two worlds meet in Man;/Visible and invisible must meet in His Temple.' But once you enter the precincts of Vrindavan, you will notice that here is a quiet town, alive and full of excitement, celebrating in numerous ways the memory of the eventful life of Lord Krishna, the incarnation of Lord Vishnu, whose advice to Arjuna on the field of Kurukshetra, contained in the *Gita* remains the most valuable document in its approach to the struggle that human life symbolises. In this town, it is a familiar sight to see devotees and pilgrims from all over the globe, lost in the trance of Krishna's adventures with Radha and the Gopis. You can identify these enthusiastic believers at first glance from the Tilakas that adorn their forehead. The Tilakas are not mere marks of sandalwood paste used for the purpose of decoration; they are, in fact, symbols of spiritual and cultural tradition handed down as a rich legacy from one generation to the next.

A. W. Entwistle's invaluable document *Vaishnava Tilakas : Sactarian Marks Worn By Worshippers of Vishnu* is indeed a laudable attempt to lend exquisite charm and grace to this simplistic ritual that conveys a profound message of the veritable link between man's body and his spirit. Based on research of the highest order, the book brings to mind a beautiful word-portrait, carved out in minute detail, of the immense variety of this sectarian mark. Scriptural authority mingles with imaginative insight as Entwistle combines observed facts with myths and legends to highlight the various shades and nuances of this religious activity.

The enduring popularity of the book, first published in the IAVRI Bulletin no. 11 and 12 in 1981-1982, has necessitated this new edition. While remaining faithful to the original version, a humble attempt has been made by the Vrindavan Research Institute to render the present edition in a more memorable shape and form. Some photographs of living and practicing saints of the Vaishnava sects have been added to the book as further illustration. I am optimistic that the attractive presentation, beautified by graphics and colour, will enchant the readers not only to delve deep into the realm of the Vaisnava Tilakas but would also entice them to adorn themselves with these beautiful marks in a spirit of grace and spiritual humility.

R. D. Paliwal, P.C.S.
Director : VRI, Vrindavan

PREFACE

(First Edition)

This study of Vaiṣṇava sectarian marks was prepared as a contribution to a research project sponsored by the International Association of the Vrindavan Research Institute, one of the aims of which was to carry out documentation of the cultural and religious activity of the Braj area. Details available from various texts, works of reference, or studies of specific Vaiṣṇava sects have been incorporated in this study, but the information it contains is based largely on research and observation carried out in Vrindavan over a period of two and a half years (1976-78).

Celebrated as the earthly setting of Kṛṣṇa's adventures with Rādhā and the **gopīs**, Vrindavan itself has been a centre of pilgrimage since the sixteenth century, while the nearby ancient town of Mathura and the surrounding area of Braj contain many sites associated with episodes in the childhood and youth of Kṛṣṇa. Many saints and devotees chose to settle in Braj and, in addition to their literary activity, founded temples and religious communities. A wide variety of **tilakas** may be observed in Vrindavan since all the major Vaiṣṇava sects have either their headquarters of important centres in the town itself or in the surrounding area. More-over, since religion is the town's raison d'être and forms the basis of its cultural and commercial activity, the style of dress preferred is relatively conservative and **tilakas** are commonly worn by devotees who visit on pilgrimage or settle down to lead a pious life and by the local priests and guides who cater for them.

The origin and general practice of marking the forehead are discussed in an introductory section with a view to defining the sectarian **tilaka** in relation to other kinds of forehead mark applied by Hindus. This is followed by a brief account of the **tilakas** worn by devotees of Śiva and the practice of smearing the body with sacred ashes, which has been included in order to indicate the fundamental distinction between the way Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas mark their bodies. The third section deals with the scriptural authorities referred to by Vaiṣṇavas for the explanation of the **tilaka** and the rituals involved in its application. The fourth section deals with the different materials which are used for the markings. In both of these sections references are made to various sectarian manuals which deal with the rites and practices with an orthodox Vaiṣṇava should observe. Such texts contain passages dealing with the significance of the **tilaka**, its method of application, and the merits of wearing it, with continual reference to scriptural authority. Quotations from scriptural authorities have been taken directly from the sectarian manuals, not only because they are the sources referred to by the devotees themselves but also because many of their quotations are not to be found in printed editions of the texts which are cited. Variant readings found in published editions of the sctiptures and quotations from them in sectarian manuals are largely insignificant; some of the variant readings found in a published edition of the **Padmapurāṇa** have been given in the notes in order to indicate the degree to which the two sources may differ.

In the third and fourth sections the divergences observed in practice from the regulations laid down by the sectarian manuals have been indicated. The wearing of the **tulasīmālā** and the practice of branding or marking the body with emblems of Viṣṇu have also been discussed in the third section since they appear in the manuals in the same context as the **tilaka** and are also regarded by Vaiṣṇavas as a sign of their faith.

The fifth section illustrates the varieties of **tilaka** current among the sects and sub-sects with descriptions of the manner in which they are drawn. The final section presents a few legends told about Vaiṣṇava saints in order to illustrate the significance the **tilaka** has acquired as a symbol of faith.

For the benefit of readers who are not acquainted with the Vaiṣṇava sects a brief survey of their history and characteristic features has been given as an appendix.

Besides acknowledging the International Association of the Vrindavan Research Institute for its financial support, and Professor J. C. Wright and Dr. R. D. Gupta for their advice and encouragement, I must also express my thanks to all members of staff of the Vrindavan Research Institute who were so helpful during the course of my field work. Among them I must thank in particular Dr. R. S. Jaitly, Dr. M. L. Gupta, Shri Gopal Chandra Ghosh and Shri Brindaban Behari for their assistance in locating and interpreting several of the texts cited. Among the many informants who have given helpful suggestions I am especially grateful to Mr. R. C. Sharma (Director, Government Museum, Mathura), Shri Braj Vallabh Sharan Shastri, and Acharya Gaur Krishna Sharan.

- A. W. Entwistle

THE MARKING OF THE FOREHEAD

Ṭīkā, **tilaka** and **bindī** are words commonly used to designate the various markings which **Hindus** apply to their foreheads as an **ornament**, auspicious mark, or sign of sectarian affiliation. Such marks, made with a variety of coloured **minerals** or with **sandalwood** paste and other **unguents**, are applied in many religious ceremonies or after **ritual** bathing on festive occasions. **Tilaka** is related to the word **tila** which means **'sesame seed'**, but its meaning is extended to refer to a small particle or a mole or some similar mark on the skin. **Tilaka** also refers to a sectarian mark worn on the forehead and is thus synonymous with the more technical term **puṇḍra**. **Ṭīkā**, **bindī**, **bindu** and **bindulī** (all meaning **'dot'**, **'drop'** or **'spot'**) are some of the words used to refer to a single **dot** or round mark on the forehead.

It is evident that Hindus are fond of **decorating** their foreheads, but the exact nature of such markings is not always clearly understood by **non-Hindus**. **Ṭīkās**, **bindīs** and **tilakas** are not **'caste marks'** as is generally thought by outsiders. Many women wear **bindīs** for purely **cosmetic** considerations. The size and colour having no relevance apart from **complis.** menting the features and dress of the wearer. A variety of coloured powders, or even a stick-on bindī of plastic, may be used for this kind of marking and its application depends upon the taste of the individual.

Married women whose husbands are still alive wear a red **bindī** in the centre of the forehead and a streak of red powder in the parting of the hair which are called **sindūra** and māg̃ (in South India the red bindī is known as **poṭṭu**). These signs are referred to in Hindī as **saubhagya ke cihna**, 'marks of good fortune', and the part of the wedding ceremony at which they are first applied is known as **sindūrabandhana.** Sindūra (vermilion, red lead, or minium) is the name of the colouring which is traditionally used for these marks, but nowadays women more commonly use a red powder called **kuṇkuma.** **Sindūra** may be obtained from places where the **mineral** is found in its natural state or an alternative may be made from a mixture of mercury, sulphur and potash.

Sindūra mixed with **ghī** (clarified butter) is the **vermilion** colour regularly applied to images of **Bhairava, Devī, Hanumān,** and **Gaṇeśa** (it is sometimes referred to as **gaṇeśabhūṣaṇa).** The **vermilion** coating **(colā)** worn by these deities is never washed off and if the layers of dried **sindūra** come away, revealing any part of the original image underneath, it is believed that the spirit of the deity has abandoned that particular image. It is said that Hanumān and Gaṇeśa covered their bodies with **Sindūra** in emulation of the marks worn by Sītā and Parvatī as a sign of their attachment to their respective lords, Rāma and Śiva. It is customary when visiting a temple housing an image painted with a colā to make a ṭīkā with some of the **sindūra,** to which a dab of ash may be added as a mark of Siva. A Vaiṣṇava may make a small mark with this

sindūra alongside his tilaka, just above the eyebrow; sometimes it may be used to draw a thin, curved horizontal line on one side of the brow.

Various markings are made on a number of ceremonial occasions connected with worship, festivals, or the important rites (**saṁskāras**) which occur during a person's life. Here the details of practice vary throughout the sub-continent, but the general motive for making **ṭīkās** is that they are considered in some way to be auspicious. In some regions, for example, the mother of a bridegroom puts a mark of red-coloured paste (**rolī**) on her son's forehead, and sometimes on that of the mare on which he is mounted, before he sets out in procession to the bride's home. If the occasion is of special importance for the person concerned, such as departure on a long journey or change in way of life, a **ṭīkā** can be made more auspicious by sticking a few grains of rice onto the red paste. A sister ties a thread around the wrist of her brother and marks his forehead with a **ṭīkā** at the annual festival of Rakṣābandhana. Red is an auspicious colour with connotations of life and rebirth; its use for **ṭīkās** and the wife's **sindūra** may derive from the application to the forehead of the blood of animals sacrificed in rituals performed in ancient times. One might also mention here the small mark dabbed on the forehead or cheek of a child in order to avert the evil eye. In the North this is called **ḍiṭhaunā** and is made with kājal (collyrium, lampblack, or soot made from burnt mustard oil).

Sandalwood paste (**candana**) is frequently applied to the forehead, especially after bathing, for its fragrant and cooling effect. It is made by rubbing a piece of sandalwood on a stone and adding some kind of mineral, clay, or moist earth to make a paste. Mud from the river is also applied by some people after bathing. On some of the important bathing days it is customary to make a colourful design on the forehead which is referred to as a **tilaka**. These designs, particularly popular with villagers who turn up in groups to bathe, are drawn with various coloured pastes made from a base of **candana** with a addition of turmeric, saffron, or other colours. They are applied by a **candanavālā** or **candanavālī** who is in attendance at the bathing place. Sometimes the designs are quite artistic, the candanavālā making a wavy pattern on the paste with a comb and sprinkling coloured powders and glitter on top of the candana.

One of the more exotic substances used in **pūjā** and afterwards for marking the forehead is **aṣṭagandha** or **gandhāṣṭaka**, a term used for various mixtures of eight ingredients offered to different deities. A passage from the Sanskrit text **Śāradātilaka** gives four combinations of eight ingredients which are prepared for **Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti,** and **Gaṇeśa**. Here it is stated that **candana** and **aguru** (aloe) are used in all the variants, camphor is used for Śakti and Śiva, and **kuṇkuma** (saffron or a red colour made from the petals of the flower) is used for all except **Gaṇeśa**. Two ingredients used for **Śakti** and **Gaṇeśa** are a plant called cora and a substance known as **rocanā**. The latter is more commonly known as **gorocanā** and is yellow orpiment obtained from cow's urine. (2) A plant used in the preparations for **Śakti** and Viṣṇu is **jaṭāmāṁsī**, another called **kuṣṭha** is used for Viṣṇu and Śiva, and a flower called **kapi** is used for Śakti. Two other plants used in the Viṣṇu preparation are **hrīvera** and **murā**, a flower associated with the demon slain by kṛṣṇa (Murāri being one of his epithets). Two ingredients used in the Śiva recipe are **kuśīda** (or **kusīda**, red sandalwood) and **tamāla**, an evergreen tree with a dark-coloured bark which is more usually associated with Kṛṣṇa. Musk (**mada**) from two kinds of deer is used for Gaṇeśa and also **kastūrī**, which can either mean a third musk or a kind of plant. (3)

Sanskrit poets often refer to the use of such exotic substances, particularly in descriptions of women at royal courts. References in **Kādambarī** and **Harṣacarita** of Bāṇa give some idea of the extent to which forehead marks were worn in the court of Harṣa during the first half of the seventh century. Bāṇa mentions the use of cooling unguents like camphor, aloe paste, and **candana** which were applied after bathing and in preparation for rituals or physical exertion. During the hot season, says Bāṇa, (4) the ladies wore a round mark of sandal which made them look as if they had undertaken vows to propitiate the sun - a forehead mark (puṇḍraka), ragged garments, and a rosary being worn by one who makes a vow. One mention of the bindī appears in a description of **Mālatī** who is said to wear a round mark of musk like 'a seal on the treasures of Cupid'. (5)

Baṇa also refers to marks of a more specific nature, such as one made from a mixture of **gorocanā** and clay from a sacred place worn by one of the class of bards. (6) An elaborate description of a prince mentions his having smeared a yellowish red arsenic paste (**manaḥśilā**) on his broad and handsome forehead which is likened to the crescent moon in Śiva's matted hair. (7)

Worship of Śiva seems to have been predominant in the court of Harṣa and Bāṇa gives us some of the earliest descriptions of Śaiva **tilakas.** Sāvitrī is said to have smeared ashes on her brow which was as 'broad as a courtyard', the three lines of ash being likened to banners indicating her conquest of the three worlds by austere penances. (8) Puṣpabhūti, an ancestor of Harṣa and devotee of Śiva, is described as visiting a great teacher called Bhairavācārya who wore a slanting forehead mark of ashes 'as if the white line of his skull had burst through his skin on account of the heat of a burning resin called **guggulu** repeatedly held over his head'. (9)

Marking the forehead in various ways appears to have been a habit in India from the earliest times. Sculptures give us some evidence for the use of **bindīs** or **bindus,** but sectarian **tilakas** as such are late to appear in iconography. Women depicted in reliefs from the Bharhut **stūpa** of the second century B. C. show the use of a flower or jewel ornament (lalāṭikā) which was born on the forehead. (10) Sculptures from the Taxila region dating from the middle of the first century after Christ show the Buddha with a small **bindu** which is this context is called an ūrṇā. (11)

The Mathura school of sculpture offers a variety of examples of forehead markings found on pieces dating from the kuṣāṇa period (first to second centuries after christ). Mathura was an important centre of kuṣāṇa culture and administration and its Government Museum contains numerous Buddhist and Jaina sculptures from **stūpas** and **vihāras** which existed in the vicinity. Many of these show an **ūrṇā** on representations of the Buddha and occasionally on Jaina **tīrthaṇkaras.** The **ūrṇā** appears particularly in meditative poses as a sign of the subject's enlightenment, being the point at which his powers of concentration are focussed and from which they emanate. On these sculptures the **ūrṇā** is normally a small raised circle set between the eyes just above the level of the eyebrows. It may also be represented by an indentation, probably made to hold a jewel, as in the case of a colossal head of the Buddha of the first century. (12) **ūrṇās** appear on a number of sculptures of the Buddha and bodhisattvas, as well as on a few jain pieces, dating from the first century until the transitional period of the third to the fourth centuries which led into the Gupta style. (13)

Sculptures of Hindu deities at Mathura show a **bindu** or third eye from a similarly early date. The earliest examples of **bindus**, similar to those on Buddhist pieces, are found on representations of Nāga deities dating from the first century and on a **caturvyūha** Viṣṇu of the second century. (14) **Bindus** are also found at Mathura on representations of Kubera, Lakṣmi, Hārīti, and on other later Kuṣāṇa figures. A third eye appears on the forehead of some sculptures in the centre of the brow, either carved vertically or horizontally, and is found on representations of Indra as well as of Śiva. The third eye of Śivạ is a sign of his discrimination and the radiant power which he earned through his asceticism. With a glance from this eye he could incinerate anyone who angered him, as was the case with Kāma. Many examples of sculptures with third eyes have been found at Mathura, dating from the first to the tenth century, including representations of Śiva (especially on **ekamukhī liṅgas**), Ardhanarīśvara, Indra, Gaṇeśa, and faces of attendant Rudras.

In none of the above cases is the third eye, **bindu**, or **ūrṇā** an obligatory attribute of any deity; there are many examples of ordinary figures, usually female, with dots or Jewel-like designs on their foreheads. Generally **bindus** are less common on secular and attendant figures accompanying the major deities. When the third eye is depicted horizontally it resembles the crescent shape which is characteristic of the Śaiva **tilaka** as described by Bāṇa.

Descriptions of sectarian **tilakas** in literature antedate representations of them in iconography They are not common in sculpture until the modern period and in painting until after the Mughals. In some cases it is difficult to ascertain whether a **tilaka** is original or an addition made by a later hand. In South India the Vaiṣṇava **tilaka**, referred to as **nāmam**, does not appear on images of deities until the fifteenth century, (16) though in the early tenth century Nammāivār in one of his **Tiruvāciriyam** hymns refers to the wearing of the mark of Viṣnu's feet on the forehead, (17) and an inscription from the time of Rājarāja, a Cōḷla king who reigned from A. D. 985-1014, mentions **nāmams** of gold among the gifts his sister Kundavai gave to a temple she founded at Dādāpuram. (18) The practice of inscribing the sectarian mark on temple walls seems to have come into vogue only in the early sixteenth century when it appeared at Hampi, Chandragiri, and Kanchi, carved in relief and flanked by the conch and discus, sometimes with the Vijayanagar state crest. (19)

Sectarian **tilakas** are worn according to the pattern approved by the guru who gives a devotee his **tilaka** at the time of initiation. A youth may receive his **tilaka** for the first time at his **upanayanasaṁskāra** (investiture of the sacred thread) when it is drawn on the required number of places on his body by the guru, who also gives him his **mantra** and string of beads.

Sectarian tilakas are worn by priests, **gosvāmīs**, **pujārīs** (temple custodians and attendants appointed by them), ascetics of various kinds (**sādhus**, **saṁnyāsīs**, **vairāgīs**), as well as by the more religious-minded among the householders. Older people who retire to follow a more devotional way of life are inclined to wear their **tilaka** regularly. Besides being seen on the foreheads and bodies of devotees, **tilakas** also appear in iconography, often revealing the sectarian origin of an image. Portraits of the great saints and **ācāryas** normally represent the subject adorned with the **tilaka** and string of beads used by members of his sect.

Tilakas are frequently used as a sectarian emblem and as such may appear as a motif on the covers and title pages of pamphlets and other publications. It is especially the custom among followers of Rāmānuja to paint or carve their **tilaka**, flanked by the conch and discus, above entrances to temples, **āśramas**, and even private houses. A **tilaka** may even be seen worn by elephants leading religious processions. Followers of Rāmānuja also mark their tilaka on implements used in the service and worship (**sevā** and **pūjā**) of a deity. Other sects may also be observed using their tilakas in some of these ways.

In general sectarian **tilakas** are either Śaiva of Vaiṣṇava, (20) the former being composed of horizontal lines and referred to as a tripuṇḍra, the latter of vertical lines and referred to as an ūrdhvapuṇḍra. There are also basic differences in the materials used which are discussed in more detail below.

ŚAIVA AND ŚĀKTA TILAKAS

Whereas Vaiṣṇava **tilakas** usually denote particular sects or sub-sects, Śaiva **tilakas** are less specific in the sense that the variations are not so widely used do differentiate a follower of one sect from another - a reflection of the rather looser organization of Śaivism. The Śaiva mark, or **tripuṇḍra** (sometimes referred to as **madhyapuṇḍra** of **ardhapuṇḍra**), consists of horizontal lines, usually three in number, which are most commonly made with sacred ash. Vaiṣṇava writers are fond of pointing out the merits of wearing their **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** and the dire consequences of applying the **tripuṇḍra**. According to the **Padmapurāṇa**, he who replaces an **ūrdhvapunṇḍra** with a **tripuṇḍra** is the meanest of men. (21) The **Skandapurāṇa** is quoted as saying that one must wash in order to purify oneself after seeing or touching someone adorned with a **tripuṇḍra** and that any work performed while wearing such a **tilaka** will not be pleasing to Viṣṇu. (22) Some statements assign different tilakas to the four classes of society, as for example in the **Padmapurāṇa** :

> *Let the* ***tilaka*** *of brahmins have vertical lines, let a king have a plain one, let* ***vaiśyas*** *have a horizontal one and* ***śūdras*** *a* ***tripuṇḍra****.* (23)

Such statements reflect past rivalry between different sects rather than the attitude of contemporary Vaiṣṇavas to the **tripuṇḍra**. Although Vaiṣṇavas are unlikely ever to wear a **tripuṇḍra**, there must be very few who would take literally such injunctions against it as are given in their sectarian scriptures. J. Bandopādhyāya says (24) that South Indian **smārtas** who are not initiates of a Vaisnava sect may wear a vertical oval mark of **candana**, called **gopālam**, when addressing prayers to Viṣṇu, and that Tanjore smārtas who worship the five major gods eqully may wear a small horizontal crescent of candana.

The **tripuṇḍra** is worn primarily by Śaiva and Śākta **sādhus** and sometimes by people attending to Śaiva temples. Use of a **tilaka** is not as common among non-ascetic devotees of Śiva as it is among what might be termed the Vaiṣṇava 'laity'. Śaiva marking are made with sacred ash **(vibhūti)** or with such white, yellow, and vermilion coloured pastes as **candana** and **sindūra**. The **tripuṇḍra** normally consists of two or three horizontal lines, usually slightly curved and dipping in the centre and often joined together at the ends. A **ṭīkā** is sometimes placed in the middle of the **tilaka** or above or below the lines. some Śaivas make one or two horizontal lines and place a **ṭīkā** above or below them, others use **ṭīkās** or square shapes of sandal paste in various combinations according to their **iṣṭadeva**, the form of Śiva or his consort which they have chosen to worship. (25)

The horizontal lines may be said to represent Śiva's trident **(triśūla)** or the three component qualities or strands **(guṇas)** which make up the universe. Alternatively, if they are curved, they may be held to represent the crescent moon which Śiva wears in his matted hair. The **ṭīkā** drawn as part of the **tilaka** may be held to represent Śiva himself, his third eye, or his **liṅga** (phallus). The exact symbolic interpretation of the various designs used by Śaivas will depend upon the group or individual concerned.

Sacred ash is widely used among Śaivas and avoided by most worshippers of Viṣṇu. The ash may be taken from the fire of an Agnihotra brahmin or from cow dung which has been used in fires made for oblations. (26) Many Śaiva ascetics, particularly those who go about naked, smear ashes over the whole of their body and in their hair. This is done in emulation of Śiva who covered himself with ashes while performing his austerities. Ashes signify abandonment or death to the world and those **sādhus** who deviate more wildly from social norms may take their ashes from the cremation ground. (27)

Rituals involved in the application of the **tripuṇḍra** and sacred ash are described in the Bṛhajjābālopaniṣad. This work expounds the merits of sacred ash and gives the **mantras** to be uttered when it is applied to different parts of the body. When invoking Agni, for example, the ingredients **candra, kuṇkuma, uśīra, agaru,** saffron, and sandalwood should be mixed with fragrant water or the urine of a cow possessing certain special characteristics (**kapilā**). (28) This mixture, dried and finely ground and mixed with sacred ash, is to be used in ritual to purify the body.

The ritual and procedure for the application of the **tripuṇḍra** is stated in this Upaniṣad to have been imparted to the sage Bhuśuṇḍa by Śiva himself in his form of

Kālāgnirudra. The **tripuṇḍra** is ideally to be made in thirtytwo places on the body, though other combinations of sixteen and eight are also given. The minimum numer of places prescribed and adopted, however, is five, namely the forehead, both arms, the breast (**hṛda**), and navel. Other places listed for the full thirty-two marks are the elbows, thighs, ears, eyes, knees, hips, shanks, throat, back, ribs, and top of the head (29). The list is obviously more theoretical than practical and one should normally expect to see **tilakas** worn only on the arms, chest, and forehead.

different **mantras** and manifestations of the deity are to be invoked as the **tripuṇḍra** is marked on the various parts of the body. Application of the **tripuṇḍra** is said to absolve the wearer from sins associated with the relevant limb or organ; sins committed by the arms, for example, can be dispelled by marking the arms and those of the mind by marking the heart. (30)

The **tripuṇḍra** is said to represent the three major gods, the three **guṇas**, and the three worlds (heaven, earth, and the underworld) :

> *Next he should apply the **tripuṇḍra** which consists of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva....*
>
> *By applying it one is understood to wear the mark of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśa. the three fires, the three guṇas, and the three worlds. (31)*

The three lines of the **tripuṇḍra** are also related to the three Vedas :

> *One should apply ashes consecrated by the **mānastoka** prayer, the top line becomes the **Sāmaveda** and the middle line the **Triyāyuṣa** (**Yajurveda**). (32)*

The bottom line of the three is then envisaged as representing the **Ṛgveda.**

Ashes from various kinds of fire are recommended for different types of people. In the case of fires used in Vedic rituals the ash which adheres to the wooden spoon used to sprinkle clarified butter into the flames may be applied :

> *Ash produced by the sacrificial fire* (***agnihotra***) *should be used by all the three classes* (***brahmins, kṣatriyas,*** *and* ***vaiśyas***)*, and by householders principally that which comes from a pure fire* (***virjānala***)*. It is also said by great sages that ash from a pure fire should be worn and that ash from the fire used for domestic worship should be used especially by householders. A* ***brahmacārī*** *should apply ash from a fire of sacred twigs and* ***śūdras*** *that which comes from a fire used to cook food in the house of a learned brahmin* (***śrotriya***)*. All others should apply ash from some fire; it is said to impart knowledge* (***Jñāna***) *to ascetics and indifference to worldly desires to those who dwell in the forest. But those extreme ascetics who live beyond the normal restrictions of caste and the stages of life should use ash from the cremation ground.* (33)

The text gives reasons for wearing the **tripuṇḍra** which rival the claims made by Vaiṣṇavas for their **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** : it sanctifies the body and brings salvation, by wearing the **tripuṇḍra** a brahmin may be deemed vertually to have completed all his studies and becomes worthy of reverence immediately he adorns himself with it, even if he has lapsed in his religious observances. (34) Those who are of fiery temper will find that their confusion and heat are quelled, those who strike anyone wearing a **tripuṇḍra** will find themselves reborn as untouchables, those who insult the **tripuṇḍra** cast aspersions on Śiva, whereas those who apply it with devotion apply Śiva himself to their bodies. (35) The man whose soul is purified by ashes, whose body is smeared with ashes, who lies in ashes, and who wears a **tripuṇḍra** of ashes is said to abide in ashes and all his sins are burnt up on contact with the sacred ash. (36)

While discussing the sects mentioned by Ānandagiri in **Śaṇkaradigvijaya**, Wilson (37) says that Śaivas wore the impression of the liṇga on their arms, the Raudras a trident on their forehead, the Ugras a small drum **(ḍamarū)** on their arms, and the Pāśupatas a liṇga on the forehead, chest, navel, and arms. He also says (38) that Śāktas of the left-hand path (**vāmīs** or **vāmacārīs**, who worship principally Durgā or Kālī), when they assume any particular insignia, make a semi-circular line or lines on the forehead with vermilion or draw a streak up the middle of the forehead with a circular spot at the root of the nose. His account of the markings is based on an old text and the position of these Śaiva sects must have changed substantially during the intervening centuries.

Bandopādhyāya has provided descriptions and illustrations of some other Śaiva sectarian marks. (39) A small **tripuṇḍra** shaped like a crescent moon lying on its side is said to be common among **smārtas** of Maharashtra and North India, some variants having a circular mark of candana in the centre. **Smārtas** of Andhra Pradesh who worship Yugapata Śiva and Devī are described as wearing larger **tripuṇḍras** with a circular mark in the centre made from the red powder of dried plantain flowers. Tantric Śaivas are said to draw a bold crescent of ash with a red dot above, or three horizontal lines with a red dot below. Bandopādhyāya also says that female devotees of Andhra Pradesh and Maharasthra may wear a horizontal line of **sindūra** and that **vāmacārīs** wear a similar line with two red marks, a circular one below and one shaped like a drop above. He says that some Śaivas and Śāktas may simply wear an oval **ṭīkā** of ash with a red spot in the centre, while others may draw a small red crescent or a vertical shape representing Śiva's third eye or a leaf of the wood-apple (**bilva**). He also illustrates an upright **tilaka** said to be worn by worshippers of Gaṇeśa which consists of a red 'U' shape with an elongated **ṭīkā** in the centre, the design presumably representing a trident. Commenting on sectarian marks worn in the Panjab, Rose (40) says that a spot of red-coloured sandal drawn with a **tripuṇḍra** is characteristic of worshippers of Devī and that a spot of vermilion or **sindūra** is worn by Śāktas and worshippers of **Gaṇeśa.**

THE ŪRDHVAPUṆḌRA

The wearing of an **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** is presumably related to the practice of smearing **candana** over the forehead after bathing, its vertical lines having been adopted as a means of distinguishing a Vaiṣṇava **tilaka** from the marking produced by the more natural horizontal movement of the hand across the brow. If a prototype **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** is to be postulated as having been used by the early Vaiṣṇavas (**Bhāgavatas**) then, in the absence of any iconographical evidence, it may be assumed to have consisted of two vertical lines joined at the root of the nose, for this is the basic shape from which all the present **sampradāyas** have evolved their variants.

Sectarian manuals which deal with the practices and rituals which a devout Vaiṣṇava should observe are derived from texts of uncertain date which became accepted as authoritative in the later medieval period, namely the **Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās**, didactic passages in the Purāṇas, and later sectarian Upaniṣads and law books. The general tenor of the brahminical pronouncements found in such texts will be evident from extracts given below. Quotations purporting to be taken from Vedic literature (**śruti**) are given in some instances, but one is unlikely to find such passages in editions of the various branches of the Vedas which have so far been published. One common citation, accredited to the **Yajurveda**, states that :

> *He who, for the benefit of his soul, wears the mark of Hari's foot in the form of an ūrdhvapuṇḍra with a space in the centre, becomes dear to the Supreme Being, becomes virtuous and obtains liberation.* (41)

Later scriptural texts **(smṛti)** which are quoted from are those which are evidently Vaiṣṇava in origin, the two Purāṇas most commonly referred to being the **Padma** and **Skanda**. Both of these have chapters in their last books which deal with the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra**, the merits of wearing it, its symbolism, materials used for it, and the method of its application. Passages from these Purāṇas are quoted in order to endorse and expand references which are found in older texts and are backed up with occasional quotations from other Puranas (especially **Brahmāṇḍa, Brahmavaivarta, Bṛhannāradīya, Garuḍa, Kūrma, Matsya, Vāmana, Varāha,** and **Viṣṇu**).

Of the sectarian manuals in current use the oldest appears to be **Haribhaktivilāsa**, a compilation attributed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and found with a commentary by Sanātana Gosvāmī. It gives details of observances, rites, duties, and festivals of Vaiṣṇava worship and the quotations it contains reappear frequently in other manuals. The main text of this kind for the Nimbārka **sampradāya** is **Svadharmāmṛtasindhu** by Śukasudhi and the Śrī **sampradāya** refers frequently to **Rāmapaṭala** which is ascribed to Rāmānuja. The Vallabha **sampradāya** has produced texts entitled **Urdhvapuṇḍramārtaṇḍa** by Giridhara and Puruṣottama, which deal specifically with the tilaka, as well as a later work compiled in the middle of the nineteenth century by Goveardhana Śarmā ('Gaṭṭulālajī') called **Satsiddhāntamārtaṇḍa**, which gives profuse and repetitive quotations from a wide range of texts, the tilaka being dealt with in the sixth section of the compilation. **Sampradāya-kalpadruma**, a history of the Vallabha **sampradāya** written in 1672 by Viṭṭhalanātha Bhaṭṭa, also deals with the **tilaka** in its concluding section. Although a product of the Gauḍīya **sampradāya**, **Haribhaktivilāsa** may be regarded as a standard authority for the practices observed by the majority of Vaiṣṇavas. Other sectarian manuals are cited below where they present significant differences in practice or interpretation.

There is very little in sectarian literature about the origins of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** and the development of the variants used in each **sampradāya**. The general belief is that the founding **ācārya** of each sect imparted a specific sectarian **tilaka** to his disciples when he initiated them. It would seem that the sectarian variants were adopted by a mutual consent which required no commentary to justify the symbolism of the distinctive features of a **tilaka**. A general symbolic interpretation, as indicated in the Puranas, is accepted by all Vaisnavas; other more esoteric ideas are likely to be readily accepted by authorities in the sect as long as they do not contradict basic assumptions and attitudes.

Sectarian texts like **Haribhaktivilāsa** are fond of quoting passages from the Puranas which relate the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** to ancient Vedic rituals. Such references are made in order to give the **tilaka** an air of great antiquity and several quotations are brought in to endorse the view that it is essential to wear the **tilaka** for the successful performance of Vedic rites. Endless merit can be gained from **yajña, dāna, tapas, japa,** and **homa** if they are performed by one who wears the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra**. This view, supported by quotations from the **Padma, Skanda** and other Purāṇas, is found in several works. (42) Despite minor textual variants in the given quotations, the point they are all making is the same. A passage from the **Skandapurāṇa** may be given to illustrate the basic attitude expressed in all the sectarian manuals :

> *Merit accruing from sacred rites will certainly be ineffectual; should one perform one's daily rituals without an ūrdhvapuṇḍra all the benefit is gained by demons and becomes infernal; bathing, donation, repetition of prayers. oblation, reading of the scriptures, and offerings to one;s forefathers are all useless if they are performed without an ūrdhvapuṇḍra.* (43)

Besides being essential for the proper performance of Vedic rites the **ūrdhvapuṇṇdra** has other merits, as expressed in the following quotations from the **Padmapurāṇa** :

> *The body of one who wears an ūrdhvapuṇḍra is considered to be a pure temple of the Lord.* (44)

> *He upon whose forehead is seen an auspicious ūrdhavapuṇḍra drawn with clay, even if he be an untouchable, undoubetedly has a pure soul and deserves to be revered.* (45)

The **ūrdhavapuṇḍra** is said to purify and absolve the sinful :

> *A man marked with an ūrdhvapuṇḍra always becomes pure, even if he is impure, unprincipled, or of sinful mind. (46)*

Showing favour to those wearing an **ūrdhavapuṇḍra** is said to be extremely meritorious :

> *I rescue from hell twenty generations of one in whose house a man wearing an ūrdhvapuṇḍra is fed. (47)*
>
> *The forefathers of one who feeds a brahmin wearing an ūrdhvapuṇḍra during a memorial ceremony are sure to be eternally satisfied. (48)*

It is also advisable to die wearing one's **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** since the texts give us the following assurance :

> *A man who wears an ūrdhvapuṇḍra, wherever he may die, be he even an untouchable, is seated in a chariot and exalted in my heaven. (49)*

It is not necessary here to give further examples of the extravagant claims made by Vaiṣṇava authors for the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra**. Nor are such benefits the prime motive for the wearing of **tilakas**, though the texts, being **smṛti**, are not disputed by devotees. The **tilaka** is applied more for its significance as a mark of Viṣṇu and a feature of daily ritual than as a direct means of obtaining rewards of the aforementioned kind. The average Vaiṣṇava looks upon his **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** as a sign of his faith and his attention to ritual observances and, so far as he is interested in theories behind the **tilaka**, is primarily concerned only with its basic symbolism.

The fundamental interpretaion of the 'U shape of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** is that it represents the footprint(s)' of Hari

(Viṣṇu) and the walls of his abode or temple. this dual symbolism is clearly stated in the **Skandapurāṇa** :

> *Those who are single-minded, highly fortunate, and concerned for the welfare of all beings make the mark, with a space is the centre, of Hari's foot; incorporating the central space this is also the abode of Hari.* (50)

The **Padmapurāṇa** describes where the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** should be drawn and says that the space is the centre should not be filled in (with **candana** etc.) since it is a abode of Viṣṇu, the lines on each side representing Brahmā and Śiva :

> *The most beautiful ūrdhvapuṇḍra, extending from the beginning of the nose to the hairline, with a space in the centre, should be known as the abode of Hari; it should be understood that on the left side stands Brahmā, on the right the constant Śiva, and in the centre Viṣṇu, hence the centre should never be filled in.* (51)

Since the centre of the **tilaka** is where Viṣṇu and his consort reside, a **bindu** is often placed there to represent Śrī (in the form of Lakṣmī, Sītā, or Rādhā, depending on the sect) who is visualized as being seated in the abode of Viṣṇu, either between his feet or alongside him :

> *For in the broad and enchanting centre of the ūrdhavapuṇḍra Janārdana (Viṣṇu), the God of gods, is seated together with Lakṣmī.* (52)

Some Rāmānandīs say that the vertical lines of their **tilaka** represent Rāma and his brother Lakṣmaṇa standing on either side of Sītā, while the stroke at the base (called **siṁhāsana**) is held to represent the devoted servant Hanumān kneeling at their feet.

Rāmapaṭala, a text used by members of the Śrī **sampradāya**, extols the merits of the red **bindu** representing Śrī, application of which is prevalent in the sect, but it states that it must not be applied on its own :

> *The man who draws a* **tilaka** *with a (mark for) Śrī, which imparts such benefits as absorption into the divine essence (sāyujya), pleases Viṣṇu and gains liberation. But Lakṣmī is angered by him who draws the Śrī alone, omitting the two lines of the* **tilaka**, *and his religious practices are ruined.* (53)

Brahmins of the Śrī **sampradāya** do not wear the red mark during funeral ceremonies of their agnates since Lakṣmī is believed to be absent from them during the period of pollution which follows a death in the family. (54)

The three components of both the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva **tilaka** may be related to one or more of a number of triads such as **iḍā**, **piṇgalā**, and **suṣumnā** (the three perpendicular **nāḍīs**, or arteries); the three sounds of the sacred syllable AUM; the three fires (terrestrial, astral, and celestial); the past, present, and future; **prakṛti**, **jīvātaman**, and **paramātman** etc. (55) A philosophical interpretation offered by an informant suggests that the **tilaka** should ideally start from the tip of the nose, this being the point of departure (**ādikāla**) from the hindrances of the phenomenal world of matter and illusion (**prakṛti** and **māyā**) which try to retain the soul and keep it in a state of separation from Brahman. The two lines leading upwards from this point thus represent the pathway to Viṣṇu's temple and hence to the godhead.

A more elaborately contrived philosophical interpretation has been given in a short pamphlet published by a member of the Gaūdīya **sampradāya.** (56) The author states that he is expressing theories conveyed to him by his guru, Ācārya Sārvabhauma Śrī Madhusūdanalāla Gosvāmī, in the hope that a more scientific' explanation of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** will encourage the younger generation to continue to wear it. Putting on the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** serves to remind us of the relationship between the five elements (**pañcatattva**) which make up the universe. **Īśvara** (God) is the master of the **Jīva** (individual soul), **māyā** (illusion), **kāla** (time), and **karma** (actions and their consequences). The **Jīva**, having only limited consciousness, is entrapped by **māyā**, **kāla**, and **karma.** These three inert elements are represented by the solid triangular shape at the base of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** (the **tilaka** of the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa **parivāra** of the Gauḍīya **sampradāya** is being specifically referred to here). The lower point of this triangle is **māyā**, the upper points being **kāla** on the wearer's right and **karma** on the left. **Īśvara** and the **Jīva**, being possessed of consciousness, are represented by the vertical lines leading upwards from this triangular base, the line of **īśvara** beginning from the point of **kāla** and the line of the **Jīva** from the point of **karma.** The lines of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** illustrate this upward path of **īśvara** and the **Jīva** when knowledge (Jñāna) leads one away from the restrictions of **māyā**, **kāla**, and **karma.**

The **bindu** which most Vaiṣṇavas place between the vertical lines of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** offers a wide variety of symbolic interpretations. A red **bindu**, called **śrīcūrṇam** or **lāl śrī**, is held by follower of Rāmānuja and Rāmānanda to represent Lakṣmī or Sītā. A small black or white **bindu** is usually referred to by sects devoted primarily to Kṛṣṇa as a **śyāmabindu** (**śyāma**, meaning 'dark', is a common epithet of Kṛṣṇa). In some sects the **śyāmabindu** is optional, in others, like the Nimbārka **sampradāya**, a **bindu**, either black or white, is nearly always present. Some will say that it represents a **śālagrāma**, a kind of black stone in which Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī are said to reside. This is an interpretation most often suggested by Nimbārkīs, who show particular reverence for the **śālagrāma**. The **śyāmabindu** is also said to represent the **mūrti** (image of the deity) housed in the temple formed by the vertical lines of the **tilaka**. Alternatively it may be visualized as the lotus on which gods stand or are seated, as suggested in the **Kūrmapurāṇa** :

> *The shape of a lotus should be placed in the centre which is the abode of Hari. (57)*

The **Padmapurāṇa** mentions the void (**śūnya**) in the centre of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** :

> *The ūrdhvapuṇḍra should be drawn with clay and a void envisaged in the centre. (58)*

The use of the word **Śūnya** here has led some to interpret the line as a reference to Viṣṇu in his most abstract form as Parabrahman and to regard a **bindu** as a sign for this void, the word for a nought or cypher being **śūnyabindu**.

In some sects both white and black **bindus** are aceptable, in others. such as the **'safed śrī' Rāmānandīs**, only a white or yellowish **bindu** may be used. One interpretation that has been suggested is that a white **bindu** signifies God in his **nirguṇa** aspect (impersonal and without qualities) and a black **bindu** God in his **saguṇa** aspect (qualified and personified). The Rādhāvallabhīs normally wear two **bindus** with their **tilaka**, a black one to represent Kṛṣṇa and, above it, a red one for **Rādhā**. If only one of these is applied then it will usually be the black one.

Married women sometimes incorporate a red **bindu** in the design of their **tilaka**, as may be commnly seen among women of the Gauḍīya sect. Some sects have a modified version of their **tilaka** for use by women, such as the white crescent shape placed beneath an elongated red **bindu** by some women of the **Śrī sampradāya**. Women of the Gauḍīya sect sometimes wear an abbreviated version of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** in the shape of a small 'V' on the nose where the triangular point of the full **tilaka** is normally drawn. Gauḍīya and Nimbārka women are more frequently seen wearing a **tilaka** than women from other sects, its application being least common among female devotees of the Vallabha and Rādhāvallabha **sampradāyas**.

The **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** is worn by **pujārīs** and older **gosvāmīs** at most times, especially when they are serving in the temple. Other Vaiṣṇavas who pay attention to the detials of daily religious observance also apply the **tilaka**, as do **sādhus** of all the sects. Older people who are either orthodox Vaiṣṇavas or who have settled down to a religious life normally wear their sectarian **tilaka**, whereas members of the younger generation seldom apply it unless they are participating in some ritual or take initiation and lead the life of a **brahmacārī**. All sects recommend the wearing of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** as a guarantee of one's prayers being fruitful. Even members of one of the less conventional sects, the Rādhāvallabhīs, are exhorted to apply the **tilaka** :

> *What wise men are there in this world who, through the steadfastness of their adoration of the guru, never draw the conch and discus etc. on their shoulders, nor make Hari's wonderful abode on their forehead, nor place a necklace of beautiful* ***tulasī*** *round their neck ?* (59)

Devout **Vaiṣṇavas** put on an **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** before doing any service for their deity, whether in a temple or household shrine :

> *At the time of worshipping or making oblations to me, in the evening and in the morning, my steadfast devotee should always wear the tutelary* ***ūrdhvapuṇḍra*** (60).

The morning ritual (**saṁdhyāvandanā**) observed by an orthodox Vaiṣṇava involves first answering the call of nature, cleaning the teeth, smearing the body with oil, bathing, paying respects to the guru (**gurusmaraṇa**), putting on clean clothes, preparing the materials for the **tilaka** and then applying it. After this he may apply additional marks such as the conch and discus or names of the deities he worships, either with carved wooden blocks or by hand. After tying his **śikhā** (Hindi : **coṭī**, a small pigtail or lock of hair on the crown of the head) he is ready to open the shrine, clean it, and wake up the deity by ringing a small bell. If the same person is to attend to the deity in the evening then he should follow the same procedure as on waking up in the morning in order to purify and prepare himself before approaching the shrine.

The materials used for the **tilaka** are mixed in the palm of the left hand and applied with the right, either with the finger or with the help of a small stick (**śalākā**) of wood, copper, silver, or gold. The wooden blocks available for stamping the **tilaka** on the forehead are frowned upon by the more traditional devotee and are seldom used. When mixing one's clays and colours one should avoid contact with the fingernails since they are considered to be impure. Generally the middle finger of the right hand is used to apply the **tilaka**, but some texts quote a verse which attributes certain beneficial effects to the use of different fingers though the little finger is not used at all;

> *The ring finger is said to lead to fulfilment of desires, the middle finger promotes longevity, the thumb fitness, and the forefinger liberation.* (61)

The sectarian manuals quote passages which give regulations for the size of the **tilaka** and the way it should be drawn. One of the msot common of these is as follows :

> *The two straight lines of Hari's abode are to be drawn starting at the root of the nose and reaching up to the top of the forehead, with more than a finger's breadth in between and becoming wider at the top, each as wide as a grain of rice and as long as the breadth of four fingers.* (62)

Another passage points out faults to be avoided and associates various qualities with the different colours which may be used for the **tilaka** :

> *Black is said to give peace and red domination, yellow to give fortune and longevity, and the auspicious white to*

> *give liberation. A mark is considered to be worthless when it is rounded, horizontal (or slanting), filled-in, short, too long, thin, crooked (or curved), misshapen, joined at the top or split at the bottom, deprived of a base, dull, dirty, reddish, not drawn with the finger, malodorous, or placed towards the left. (63)*

These regulations are not always observed in practice. Many Vaiṣṇavas make their **tilakas** extremely large; the vertical lines may even be extended on to the crown and made so broad as to cover the forehead. Large **tilakas** are typical of many **Rāmānandī sādhūs**, of whose **tilaka** it is said that in comparison all others are small fry, the two vertical lines of the Rāmānandīs shining out like cart tracks seen from the opposite bank of the Yamuna :

aura tilaka saba tilakiyā rāmānandī ṭhīka
jamunā pāra te (aisī) camake gāṛī kī sī līka ! (64)

Some Gauḍīyas also make their lines broader than usual, whereas most of them draw them quite close together. Members of other sects generally content themselves with a **tilaka** of modest proportions. Some hold that the vertical lines should extend up to the top of the head and, if their head is shaven, elongate the **tilaka** accordingly. There is no scriptural backing for large or distorted **tilakas** even though idiosyncratic variations in their proportions are found in all sects.

There are different starting points for the **tilaka** which vary from sect to sect. Followers of Haridāsa begin their **tilaka** from the tip of the nose, Nimbārkīs from the bridge of the nose and most others from the root of the nose or just above the level of the eyebrows. The numerous

parivāras within the Gauḍīya **sampradāya** make use of all these variants, but most of them draw a triangular point along the bone of the nose and branch the **tilaka** into two lines at the root of the nose.

The precision with which **tilakas** are made varies from person to person, some being drawn very neatly, others in a rough and heavier manner-often with liberal application of **candana** on the rest of the forehead. Some people decorate the brow on either side of the **tilaka** with dabs of **gopīcandana** or **kesaracandana** (yellow-coloured sandal paste), forming a more or less artistic pattern of dots. Despite individual variations in size and thickness it is usually possible to identify the **sampradāya** of the wearer.

Parallel lines not joined at the bottom are used in some sects regardless of the scriptural injunction from the **Padmapurāṇa**. Red parallel lines are drawn by some followers of Vallabha to represent the banks of the Yamuna, the space in between being filled in with the earth of Braj **(Braj raj)**. Some Kabīrpanthīs wear two parallel white lines, others apply a single streak of white clay in the centre of the forehead. Some Vaiṣṇavas abbreviate the **tilaka**, omitting the vertical lines and simply applying the **bindu** or elongated drop shape for Śrī. Although there is some scope for personal adaptations, a devotee should not deviate from the basic pattern and colours of the **tilaka** given to him by his guru.

Ideally the **tilaka** should be applied to twelve place on the body **(dvādaśatilaka)** where Viṣṇu is said to reside. The twelve places are said to correspond to the twelve months of the year, twelve names of the Lord, of the ten senses (**indriyāḥ**) plus the mind and the soul (**manas** and **ātman**). As each of these **ūrdhvpuṇḍras** is applied an epithet of Viṣṇu or the name of one of his manifestations is called to mind. When applying a tilaka to the forehead, for example, one should invoke Keśava with the formula **keśavāya namaḥ**. After cleaning the hands the water used for washing them is sprinkled on top of the head with the invocation **vāsudevāya lakṣmyai namaḥ**. A passage from the **Padmapurāṇa** lists the twelve places and the names by which Viṣṇu should be invoked :

> *One should contemplate Keśava on the forehead and Nārāyaṇa on the stomach, Mādhava on the chest and Govinda on the base of the throat, Viṣṇu on the right side, Madhusūdana on the (right) arm, Trivikrama on the (right) shoulder, Vāmana on the left side, Śrīdhara on the left arm, Hṛṣikeśa on the (left) shoulder, Padmanābha on the (small of the) back, and Dāmodara at the back of the neck; saying 'Vāsudeva' one should place water used for washing on the head. (65)*

The application of twelve **tilakas** is accepted in theory by all sects, though is practised seldom by Rādhāvallabhīs and most frequently by members of the Śrī and Gauḍīya **sampradāyas**. Followers of Rāmānuja apply the full **tilaka**, with **śrībindu**, wherever possible on the twelve places, but members of other sects either mark just the 'U' shape outline or simply give a dab or smear of **candana**. Some apply the **tilaka** just to six places, namely the arms, forehead, throat, navel, and centre of the chest. A branch of the Sahajiyā Vaiṣṇavas (the followers of Rūpakavirāja) apply the standard Gauḍīya **tilaka** to no more than five places.

Along with the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** most Vaiṣṇavas wear beads made from the stem of the **tulasī** or sacred basil plant. These rosaries or necklaces of small beads are known as **tulasīmālās** or **kaṇṭhīmālās**. Devotees of Śiva wear a **mālā** of the larger round and reddish coloured **rudrākṣa** beads.

Sects worshipping Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā use a double strand of **tulasī** beads worn close to the neck which is considered to represent the divine couple. Some wear three strands so that, in case one is somehow broken, they will still be left with two. Followers of Madhva wear a double strand, but longer and looser than that worn by members of the other **sampradāyas**. Follower of Rāmānuja use a long **mālā** of **tulasi** beads and lotus seeds which is only put on at times of prayer. Rāmāndīs wear their **tulasīmālā** all the time, which sometimes helps on to distinguish between the two branches of the Śrī **sampradāya**. Some Rāmānandīs wear a **hīrā** round their neck, which is a piece of **tulasī** wood threaded onto a string said to have originally been worn by the Nāgā **sādhus**. Some Nimbārkīs who are followers of kāṭhiyā Bābā have also taken to wearing a **hīrā**

The **Padmapurāṇa** extols the merits of the marks of Viṣṇu and a **mālā** of **tulasī** and lotus seeds :

> *Those who wear a mālā of tulasī and lotus seeds around their neck, whose shoulders are marked with the conch and discus, and who wear a beautiful ūrdhvapuṇḍra for their forehead mark, those Vaiṣṇavas immediately sanctify the world.* (66)

Other pauranic references in the sectarian manuals say that the wearing of **tulasī** leads to the attainment of liberation and will produce rewards equal to those of a horse sacrifice (**aśvamedha**), the greatest of Vedic sacrifices. The messengers of Yama (Death) are said to flee at the sight of a **tulasīmālā** and wearing it while washing makes one's bath equivalent to bathing in the Ganges; one's sins are dispelled by the wearing of a **tulasīmālā** which should always be worn so as not to displease Viṣṇu.

A **tulasīmālā** is placed around the neck of a devotee at the time of his initiation by the guru. Some also recommend the wearing of **tulasī** next to the body for its health-giving and prophylactic properties since it is a plant highly valued in Āyurvedic medicine.

Most of the texts which deal with the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** and **tulasī** also cite the Purāṇas and other texts in connection with marking the body with the conch (**śaṇkha**) and discus (cakra). Viṣṇu is normally portrayed with four arms in which he holds a lotus, a club or mace, a conch, and a discus. These emblems, along with his footprints, are often used to represent him or his presence.

The practice of branding the body with the conch and discus is extolled in the **Pāñcarātra saṁhitās** and was probably inherited by the Vaiṣṇavas from some older ascetic order. It is said (67) that Rāmānuja, when he was initiated, was branded with metal seals of the conch and discus on his right and left arms respectively. Mahāpūrṇa, who conducted the initiation, heated the brands in a sacrificial fire and branded Rāmānuja before whispering the **mantra** in his right ear. Later, when questioned by Yādavaprakāśa as to whether such branding was sanctioned by the scriptures, Rāmānuja cited **śruti** to support the practice. (68)

Wilson says that Sauras (worshippers of Sūrya, the sun) used to stamp circles on the forehead, arms, and chest with hot irons, a practice which was condemned by Śaṇkara as being contrary to the laws of the Vedas. (69) Rāmānandīs brand themselves with the bow and arrow of Rāma on their right and left arms respectively, thus differentiating themselves from followers of Rāmānuja. Other Vaiṣṇava sects worshipping principally Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā do not mark themselves with the emblems of Viṣṇu, even though their sectarian manuals give quotations to support the practice. Some of them may, however, apply the conch and discus on the day when the gods begin their four months' sleep (**āṣāḍha śuklapakṣa 11**), but with **gopīcandana** rather than a branding iron. Those sects which hold Rādhā in high esteem and are concerned with the love between her and Kṛṣṇ regard the conch and discus as being more appropriate for Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and relevant only to the Kṛṣṇa of Dwārkā. (70)

Quotations regarding the marks of the conch and discus are taken from texts older than those which deal with the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra**, though there is no guarantee that they are not later interpolations. One of these is attributed by the manuals to the **Ṛgveda** :

> *He who wears on his body the branded mark of a discus, the power of the gods and of infinite Viṣṇu, overcomes all difficulties and goes to that heaven to which dispassionate ascetics proceed. (71)*

Another citation, attributed by the manuals to the **Sāmaveda**, relates the discus to a circle of fire and the thousand-petalled lotus **cakra** on the crown of the head which is held to be the site of the soul and the point from which it leaves the body :

> *The fire is purificatory and has a thousand flames like the circumference of the thousand-petalled lotus. The brahmin whose body is branded with this circle obtains union (with the divine essence) and is possessed of his world. (72)*

Another quotation which appears in some manuals, attributed to the **Yajurveda,** states that Viṣṇu in his most transcendent aspect is ever present in the heart of the man of great soul **(mahātmā)** who wears the marks of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** and discus and who contemplates him through prayer. (73) And the **Atharvaveda** states that :

> *We who wear the signs of Viṣṇu are blessed in this world; we who are marked with them go to Viṣṇu's highest heaven. (74)*

From such references to **śruti** it would appear that marking the body with the emblems of Viṣṇu antedates the use of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra,** or is at least as old. Other quotations are attributed to a variety of texts, mainly Purāṇas, which endorse the supposedly Vedic practice of branding. The claim made is that by wearing the emblems of Viṣṇu one draws closer to him and is assured of a place in his heaven. In the last book of the **Padmapurāṇa** Maheśvara informs Nārada of the signs of a Vaiṣṇava, saying that the marks of the conch, discus, lotus, and club or mace should always be worn along with the **tulasīmālā** and twelve **tilakas** :

> *The wise man who always wears a conch, discus, mace, and lotus, who wears a mālā of* **tulasī** *wood around his*

> *neck and who always applies twelve* **tilakas**, *knows right from wrong and is called a Vaiṣṇava. (75)*

One of the effects of branding is that it transfers the purifying property of the sacrificial fire to the body of the wearer. A passage from the **Sudarśanamāhātmya** section of the **Padmapurāṇa** recommends branding with the marks of five emblems of Viṣṇu (the fifth being a sword) :

> *A brahmin should brand the conch and discus on his shoulders; when marked with His signs he certainly attains the heaven of the Lord of Śrī. When the brand is heated in the sacrificial fire it expiates all sins, be it the mark of a discus, a conch and discus, or all five implements. (76)*

A more lavish application of the emblems of Viṣṇu is suggested in the same Purāṇa for the man who wishes to conform to the doctrines of his spiritual tradition :

> *He should wear two* **nāmamudrās** *(name stamps) with a conçh underneath each and pairs of lotuses in the centre and on each side, four conches on the left and two* **nāmamudrās** *as mentioned before, one discus with two maces on each side, on the forehead one mace, on the heart a* **nāmamudrā**, *and two pairs of conches between two rows of three discuses; he should also wear maces and a lotus beside the heart above the nipple, three discuses beneath each ear, and one discus in each of the other tilakas. (77)*

The fact that these passages are neither cited in sectarian manuals nor followed in practice leads one to suppose that they are intended to suggest merely a notional application of the marks. Although the early Vaiṣṇavas may have meditated on the signs of Viṣṇu, and sometimes branded themselves with them, it is doubtful whether the practice was very common among members of most of the **sampradāyas**, even though it was recommended in their texts. Marks of Viṣṇu's attributes are occasionally seen drawn or stamped with **candana** on the chest and arms, but only a few ascetic followers of Rāmānuja and Rāmānanda take the trouble to brand themselves. When they do so clarified butter is smeared on the arm before the mark is made with a silver brand.

The concept of branding, however, survived even among sects which have never practised it. A Rādhāvallabha text, **Sevāvicāra**, recommends marking the body even though members of the sect are less concerned with such practices than most otherVaiṣṇavas. The commentary to this text adds a quotation from the **Skandapurāṇa** :

> *What harm can Yama do to him whose body is always marked with the emblems of Nārāyaṇa, even if he is bound by ten million sins ? (78)*

Another passage quoted in the same commentary attributes to Śuka the statement that one who wears the marks of Viṣṇu's **avatāras** is considered to be an image (**svarūpa**) of the Lord.

Many Vaiṣṇavas write names of the Lord and invocations on their bodies or on the forehead on either side of the **tilaka**. Sometimes a wooden block (**chāpa** or **nāmamudrā**) is used for this purpose. Thus Rāmānandīs may be seen with **Rāma**, **Sītārāma**, or **Harerāma** written on their chest and forearms and Gauḍīyas with **Oṁ Kṛṣṇāya, Śrī Rādhākṛṣṇa**, and similar invocations stamped on their chest, arms, and forehead. Members of other sects, to a lesser extent, may also be seen with the names of their deities written on their bodies with **candana. Rāmapaṭala** lists the ten signs or characteristics of a Vaiṣṇava as good appearance (or **cleanliness : bhadrarūpa**), wearing of the conch and discus, **the tulasīmālā**, the clay called **gopīcandana**, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa **mantras**, the **śikhā**, the water pot **(kamaṇḍalu)**, white garments, and faith in the guru's words. (79)

MATERIALS USED FOR THE ŪRDHVAPUṆḌRA

Although the sects use different materials for making the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** there are some points of general practice which are acknowledged by all. One basic rule for Vaiṣṇavas is to avoid the use of sacred ash - the medium normally used by Śaivas for their **tripuṇḍra**. The sectarian manuals give quotations in support of the notion that clay should not be used for the **tripuṇḍra** nor ashes for the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra**, one of them taken from Hārītasmṛti :

> *The horizontal mark should never be drawn with clay nor the upright one with ash; both may be done with sandal, but never a round mark.* (80)

The relevant **mantras** used by Śrī vaiṣṇavas express the belief that Lakṣmī makes her presence felt in the clay, which, like ashes, has a lustral function and beneficial power. (81) **Candana** is prepared by rubbing a piece of sandalwood on a stone and adding water and clay until a white or cream coloured paste is formed. Some special kinds of sandal, such as **malayagiri** and red sandalwood (**raktacandana**), may be used for their particular fragrance. The sandal is not, however, an indispensible ingredient; sometimes a piece of clay is simply rubbed in the palm of the left hand with a little water to make a paste. The kind of clay preferred varies from sect to sect, some using clays from sites associated with their founder or from the banks of sacred lakes and rivers. Fresh water is to be used for making the **candana**, taken if possible from a river (preferably the Yamuna or the Ganges) or from a well. One can also use water which has washed the feet of a deity (**caraṇāmṛta**) or water which has been in contact with the sacred black stone known as a **śālagrāma**. Some vaiṣṇavas offer **Candan** to the **śālagrāma** before applying it to the body, as recommended in the **Brahmapurāṇa** :

> *For the attainment of great purity in every limb, O Brahmā!, one should always wear* ***candana*** *which has come into contact with a* ***śālagrāma*** *stone.*

The **Padmapurāṇa** lists the sites from where the clay used for **tilakas** should be taken, which include places of pilgrimage associted with incarnations of Viṣṇu :

> *Clay for making the marks should be taken from a mountain top, riverbank, root of a* ***bilva****, pond (or lake), the bank of the Indus, Valmīka, Harikṣetra, a place where Viṣṇu's bath water constantly flows, from the hill at Veṇkaṭa and Śrīraṇgam, from Kūrma and auspicious Dvārkā, from Prayāga, the hill of Narasiṁha, from Varāha, or from a* ***tulasī*** *grove. He who, after collecting the clay and mixing it with water from Viṣṇu's feet, makes the marks on his body with it should obtain union with Viṣṇu. (83)*

Clay taken from a place where **tulasī** grows is also recommended in the **Garuḍapurāṇa** :

> *A year's worth of sinning disappears at the sight of one who makes a mark with* ***tulasī*** *clay every day. (84)*

By far the most meritorious clay in the eyes of a large number of Vaiṣṇavas is called **gopīcandana**. Its use is recommended by the Mādhva, Gauḍīya, and Nimbārka **Sampradāyas** and it is used by many followers of Rāmānanda and Viṣṇusvāmī. Some hold that gopīcandana was introduced by Madhva and that subsequently it was adopted by those sects which worship primarily Kṛṣṇa. There are chapters devoted to the merits of **gopīcandana** (**Gopīcandanamāhātmya**) in the **Skanda**-and Padmapurāṇas which are quoted in sectarian manuals.

Gopīcandāna is taken from a lake called **Gopītalāb** or Gopīsarovara near Dwarka, a centre of pilgrimage on the coast of Gujarat. It was to Dwarka that Kṛṣṇa retired with Rukmiṇī and his other wives after leaving Braj. True **gopīcandana** can be identified by the distinctive odour it gives off when mixed with water. Wilson (85) describes the **gopīcandana** used by Vaiṣṇavas for the 'fantastical streaks on their faces, breasts and arms' as a magnesian or calcareous clay. It is cream-coloured and is brought in chunks from Dwarka, usually to be sold in conical or elongated pyramid-shaped pieces by shops which sell rosaries and other items used in rituals and service of the deity.

One version of the legend of **gopīcandana** says that when the gopīs heard that Kṛṣṇa had left this world they drowned themselves in the lake, since when the clay from its banks has been yellowish in colour. A fuller version of the story is given in the **Prabhāsakhaṇḍa** of the **Skandapurāṇa** in a chapter entitled **Dvārakāmāhātmya**. The **gopīs**, feeling that Kṛṣṇa deserted them when he moved to Dwarka with his bride Rukmiṇī set out to meet him and ask why they were apparently being neglected. They met Uddhava and pleaded with him to arrange a meeting with Kṛṣṇa. The **gopīs**, who were waiting at a lake called Mayasarovara, were overcome by the upsurge of love aroused in them by the appearance of Kṛṣṇa. They asked him why he had abandoned them and accused him of being disloyal. Kṛṣṇa, realizing that the **gopīs** had come to him with single-minded devotion (**ananyabhāva**), gave them his blessing and assured them that they had never been far from his thoughts. He explained that he resides permanently in the hearts of all beings and that the gods and the whole of creation emanate from him. They should think of him as dwelling inside of themselves (**antaryāmīrūpa**) and thus be absolved from all sins and freed from bondage.

With these words he dispelled the **gopīs'** doubts and said that, since they had obtained liberation by seeing and touching the lake, they should bathe in it so that all their desires might be fulfilled. Bathing in the lake, observing the correct procedure, is equal in merit to bathing in the Ganges and will secured for oneself a permanent place in heaven (Vaikuṇṭha). Kṛṣṇa explained that since he is always charmed by his devotees he would create nearby a new lake to commemorate the love of the **gopīs**. The water of this lake was sweet and bottomless and lotuses bloomed on its surface; swans and cranes took up residence on it and prominent brahmins, scholars, and **siddhas** settled on its banks. Kṛṣṇa said that the water of the lake is as sweet and clear as the minds of good people and that, since it was created for the **gopīs**, it should be named Gopīsarovara. At the request of the **gopīs** Kṛṣṇa explained the merits of bathing in the lake, saying that they should take a handful of clay from the bank and spread it on their forehead while uttering the appropriate **mantra**. Those who bathe in the Gopīsarovara will reach heaven, attain liberation, obtain fulfilment of their desires, and wash all their sins away.

Sectarian manuals give quotations from the **Garuḍa-, Padma-, Skanda-** and **Varāhapurāṇas** on the merits of **gopīcandana**. The fullest account of these is in the **Padmapurāṇa** which, in its last book, has two chapters (**adhyāyas** 30 and 68) devoted to the subject of **gopīcandana**. The application of **gopīcandana** will liberate men of all castes and absolve all manner of sins :

> *A Vaiṣṇava whose body is smeared with* ***gopīcandana*** *is totally devoted to Viṣṇu; moreover he is absolved from all faults, as if by the water of the Ganges, even if he be a slayer of a brahmin, a drunkard, a stealer of gold, or one who sleeps with his guru's wife, whether he be a* ***śūdra*** *or a brahmin. (86)*

Not only is the wearing of **gopīcandana** equal to bathing in the Ganges, it is also equivalent to visiting all the places of pilgrimage in India :

> *It is as if all the pilgrimage places in India are forever visited by the man who makes a* ***tilaka*** *with mixtures of* ***gopīcandana****; absolved from all sins he goes to Viṣṇu's highest heaven. it is as if that man who wears* ***gopīcandana*** *has gone to Gayā and there performed rites in homage to his forefathers. He immediately obtains deliverance by wearing* ***gopīcandana****, be he the slayer of a brahmin, of a cow, or of a child. (87)*

Another passage goes so far as to say that even a materialist (**hetuvādī**) will be absolved if he use clay taken from a site associated with Viṣṇu. (88) It is elsewhere said that he who keeps **tulasī**, a conch, a **śālagrāma**, and **gopīcandana** in his house need fear no evil as these sacred objects will afford protection. (89) The **Garuḍapurāṇa** has a passage which states that the worst of criminals attains liberation :

> *O Garuḍa, he who at the time of death has gopīcandana on his arms, forehead, and heart goes to the realm of the Lord of Lakṣmī, be he the slayer of a cow, a brahmin, or a child. (90)*

There is also a **Gopīcaṇdanopaniṣad**, though it is less frequently alluded to in sectarian manuals than passages from the Purāṇas. (91) It reiterates statements about the power of **gopīcandana** to absolve the wearer from the most heinous crimes and assure him of a place in heaven. Worship, prayers, and vows performed while wearing it bestow immense merit; on applying it an insignificant person becomes like a king and his worship encompasses all the gods. Even a small amount of repetition of the Lord's name or a modest act of charity is counted as having been done to the full if **gopīcandana** is smeared on the body.

Like the Purāṇas this late Upaniṣad rates **gopīcandana** as highly as a pilgrimage to the Ganges and claims that the application of it grants regards similar to those earned by numerous Vedic sacrifices. It is said to promote longevity, strength, and good health and to bestow the fruits of the four aims of life (viz. virtue of **dharma**, fulfilment of desire, prosperity, and liberation). It describes **gopīcandana** as the products of the pleasure experienced by Kṛṣṇa and the **gopīs** when they played in the waters of the lake :

> *Gopīcandana, arising from the amorous pleasure of Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs, destroys sins and, through his grace, gives the rewards of the four aims of life. The offering of just a speck of it is as profitable as a mountain of gold. Kuṅkuma, or gopīcandana, is said to have been gathered in Dwarka by the lords of the gods during the frolicking in the water of Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs. If just a speck of kuṅkuma produced by the water-frolics of Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs is applied it purifies up to ten generations. A circle drawn with gopīcandana, even if it is incomplete, is a beautiful mark which is propitious, purifying, yellow-coloured, and the very form of Viṣṇu. (92)*

Followers of Rāmānuja use a white-coloured clay **(kanyaka)** which is taken from a tank where it was discovered by the **ācārya** himself. While strolling in a **tulasī** grove at Yādavādri (modern Melkote) he is said to have come across an image of Viṣṇu buried in an anthill. this was the image of Yādavādripati which is thought to have been buried in order to protect it from desecration by Muslims. (93) A temple was built to house the rediscovered deity and its worship was resumed. Nearby was a large tank of clear water called Kalyāṇī, the water of which was used for the ablutions of Yādavādripati.One day Rāmānuja discovered that a white clay on the north side of the tank was suitable for marking the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra**. Previously clay had been collected from a place called Bhaktagrāma, but he supply there had become exhausted. Since he had sent many of his followers in search of an alternative he was extremely pleased to discover a suitable clay at this convenient spot. The clay is distributed free in **Rāmānuja** temples and is used for the white frame of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra**, though chalk may be used when the special clay is unobtainable.

Rāmānandīs may use either **gopīcandana** or any of a variety of clays from places associated with Rāma. From Chitrakut comes a white clay, and there is another variety which they call **pāśā**. There is also a yellowish brown-coloured clay called rāmaraj and, less commonly used, a kind called pañcaraj which is a mixture of **gopīcandana**, **rāmaraj**, **gerū** (Sanskrit **gairika/gaveruka**, a kind of red chalk), and earth from Braj and Chitrakut. Some Rāmānandīs use one of the clays mixed with orange or yellow colours which is then referred to as **pītā śrī**. this is similar to the yellow **kesaracandana** (candana mixed with saffron or turmeric) which may be used in all sects for additional decoration on the forehead.

Another clay favoured by Gauḍīyas is taken from a lake called Rādhākuṇḍa near Govardhan. When Caitanya came to Braj to rediscover the sacred sites one of the places he looked for was Rādhākuṇḍa, which was said to have disappeared since the time of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Caitanya, however, discovered the twin lakes of Rādhākuṇḍa and Śyāmakuṇḍa in a paddy field, though there was very little water there. He offered prayers to the lake where Rādhā used to play in the water and dance on the bank. He became overwhelmed with love and himself danced on the banks of the lake. He then marked his body with a **tilaka** made from the mud of the lake and, with the help of a disciple, Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya, took some of the mud away with him. (94)

The clay from Rādhākuṇḍa, sold in small pellets or in blocks three to four inches long stamped with the words **Gauḍa** or **Rādhākṛṣṇa**, gives a grey colour when it is mixed with water and applied to the body. Many Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, in Braj especially, use the clay for the whole **tilaka**, which gives a different hue from the more usual dream colour of **gopīcandana**. Some give the Rādhākuṇḍa clay a blacker and more intense colour by adding juice from the yellow myrobalan (**har(r)** or **harītakā**).

Many value the earth of Braj, where Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā walked, as a material to be used for **tilakas**. Ascetic followers of Haridāsa smear it liberally over their forehead and shaven scalp; some Rādhāvallabha **sādhus** use earth from Sevākuñja (a grove in Vrindaban) and Rādhākuṇḍa. Some Vallabhas apply **Braj raj**, or **kesaracandana** to represent it, between the parallel lines of their **tilaka** which are held to represent the banks of the Yamuna. Also used in the Vallabha **sampradāya** is a golden-coloured clay from Nathdwara which is mixed with **caraṇāmṛta** from their principal deity Śrīnātha Jī. Another kind of clay, sold in pebble-shaped pellets on the **ghāṭs** at Mathura, is called **mākhan maṭṭī** ('butter clay') taken from the place near Gokul (Brahmāṇḍa Ghāṭ) where Yaśodā scolded Kṛṣṇa for eating dirt and subsequently beheld the entire universe when she looked into his mouth.

Members of the Vallabha and Rādhāvallabha **sampradāyas** draw their red **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** not with **candana** but with a mixture made with a red powder called **kuṅkuma**. In many contexts **kuṅkuma** means saffron, but the term applies not only to the yellow pistils but to the flower as a whole. From the petals is extracted the original **kuṅkuma**, but the red powder now sold and used for **tilakas** by those Vaiṣṇavas who apply a red **bindu** is more likely to be one of the cheaper substitutes.

A selection of quotations from the Purāṇas in praise of **kuṅkuma** has been given by Giridhara in his **ūrdhvapuṇḍramārtaṇḍa**. (95) Beneficial effects similar to those claimed for the **tilaka** and **gopīcandana** are also asociated here with **kuṅkuma**. Its use for the red lines of the **tilaka** is hailed as a sign of one's devotion to the Lord :

> *He who has on his forehead and straight lines of a beautiful red ūrdhvapuṇḍra of* ***kuṅkuma*** *is indeed a supreme follower of Viṣṇu. (96)*

Kuṅkuma is extolled as the red unguent applied to the soles of Kṛṣṇa's feet which fills the heart of the devotee with passion for him :

> *Hail the paste of* ***kuṇkuma*** *on the soles of Kṛṣṇa's lotus feet, may it ever colour red my lotus heart ! (97)*

Reference is made to filling in the space in the centre of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** with yellow paste, as is often done by members of the Vallabha **sampradāya** :

> *the centre of the ūrdhvapuṇḍra should be considered as the place of Lakṣmī; in the middle of one's* ***tilakas*** *should be placed a yellow (mark of) Śrī made with powdered turmeric, saffron, and sandal. (98)*

The text also recommends the use of **gorocanā** or **gopīcandana** as suitable materials from which to make this yellow colour which many followers of Vallabha accordingly use to fill in their **ūrdhvapuṇḍra**.

The **bindus** placed in the centre of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** are either black, white, yellow, or red in colour. Those Vaiṣṇavas who apply a white, yellow, or yellowish bindu use either **gopīcandana, kesaracandana**, or one of the white clay favoured by their sect. The **tilaka** of the Caraṇadāsīs consists simply of an elongated bindu or streak of yellow-coloured **gopīcandana**, yellow also being the colour of their shirts or jackets.

For a black śyāmabindu either a dark-coloured clay or a substance called **dhūpaśeṣa** is used. The dark clays include the one from Rādhākuṇḍa and, favoured by some Gauḍīyas, a kind called **śyāmāñjanī** found at Kañjalagiri, a hill near Jagannath Puri in Orissa. Both of these clays are soft and make a paste when rubbed with water on a stone or in the palm of the hand.

Dhūpaśeṣa is made from the soot or the burnt wick of the flame waved in front of the deity at the time of **āratī**. The black residue is mixed with oil or clarified butter before being aplied. A passage from the **Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa** is sometimes quoted as sanctioning the use of **dhūpaśeṣa** :

> *He whose body is smeared with **dhūpaśeṣa** or who wears a forehead mark of lamp-black is a veritable God of Death for Yama himself. The wearer of **dhūpaśeṣa** is dear to me whatever his circumstances - the wearing of it is as meritorious as bathing at the confluence of the*

> *three rivers at Prayāga. He who casts aspersions on a wearer of dhūpaśeṣa is the meanest of men, falls into the clutches of Yama, and incurs my wrath. (99)*

There are other ways of mixing the black colour for the **śyāmabindu**. One recipe given by a Rādhāvallabhī is to mix clay with **tulasī** and water (**caraṇāmṛta**) iṇ an iron pot which will cause the mixture to turn black. A mixture using the crushed seed of an unripe mango also produces a black colour and is used by some people.

The red **bindu**, representing the consort of the relevant **avatāra** of Viṣṇu, may be made with one of the powders (**kuṅkuma, rolī, gulāl**) used by married women for their **bindī** and **māng**. One method which may be used to make a red paste is to mix lime (**cūnā**) with turmeric (**haldī**) and water and then heat the mixture in an iron pot adding a spice made from dried mango parings (**khaṭāī**) and a kind of refined borax (**sonā galāne kā suhāgā**). The mixture is then dried and pounded, producing a red colour. **Sindūra** (vermilion) is mixed with red sandal for some Śaiva and Śākta **tilakas** but is not used for Vaiṣṇava markings, though anyone may include it in the decorative designs made on the forehead after bathing on certain festival days.

The **bindu** of the Mādhva **sampradāya** is of a dark red colour, being made from the ash of a plantain flower mixed with turmeric. The thin vertical line worn above this round bindu in the centre of the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** is drawn with **dhūpaśeṣa**.

THE VARIETIES OF ŪRDHVAPURṆḌRA

Śrī sampradāya

The term **Śrī sampradāya** applies to followers of Rāmānuja as well as to those of Rāmānanda. There are two branches of followers of Rāmānuja, namely the Teṇkalai- the southern group centered at Shrirangam, and the Vaṭakalai- the northern group centered at Kanchipuram. The Teṇkalai **tilaka** has a 'seat' or 'throne' (**āsana**) extending onto the bridge of the nose which is not worn by the Vaṭakalai. Members of both groups prefer to draw the frame of the **tilaka** with a special white clay, though a kind of chalk is acceptable if it is unavailable. The **tilaka** is drawn boldly and often quite large with thick lines which may extend onto the top of the head. Both groups wear a large red **bindu** representing Śrī which is referred to as **śrīcūrṇam**. In the south of India the Rāmānuja **tilaka** is called nāmam or **tirunāmam**. Particularly devout followers may draw a pair of footprints instead of the vertical lines and a white **padmāsana** (lotus-throne) as the base of the **tilaka**. (100) A variant for women is occasionally seen which consists of a red **bindu** above a white crescent drawn horizontally.

Most Rāmānandī **tilakas** are drawn with a **padmāsana** or **siṁhāsana** at the base, though it is omitted by some of the sub-sects. All followers wear a garland of **tulasī** beads or a lump of **tulasī** wood (**called hīrā**) around their neck, whereas followers of Rāmānuja prefer a garland of **tulasī** beads and lotus seeds. Rāmānandī **tilakas** have either a red dot or treak in the centre (called **śrībindu** or **śrīrekhā**), a yellow or white **bindu**, or a white streak (as worn by members of the Laśkarī order. Members of one particular group, known as Caturbhujīs, leave the centre of their tilaka empty since they do not give any prominence to Sītā.

The clay used for the Rāmānandī **tilaka** may be **gopīcandana**, the yellowish **rāmaraj** from Chitrakut, or some other clay from a sacred site. It is sometimes coloured yellow or orange by the addition of turmeric or saffron. Many Rāmānandīs apply such yellow paste (referred to as **kesaracandana**) to the forehead on either side of the **tilaka**. The colour of the **bindu** and shape and colour of the frame are normally imparted to an initiate by his guru, according to the form of tilaka prevalent in the relevant sub-sect, but many **sādhus**, are drawn long and thick and may cover the whole of the forehead. The names of Rāma and Sītā are sometimes written on the chest, arms and forehead with **candana**.

Several Rāmānandī **tilakas** have been described and illustrated by Siṁha and some of those given here have been attributed to particular sub-sects (**paramparās**, **dvāras**, or **gaddīs**) on the basis of his descriptions. (101) The standard or most common forms of Rāmānandī **tilaka** are similar to those worn by followers of Rāmānuja. The one with a curved frame is worn in particular by members of the Ṭīlādvārā Pīṭha (based at Khelnā Bholās, Jaipur, and having a large following, especially in Madhya Pradesh) Founded by Ṭīlācārya, a pupil of Kṛṣṇadāsa Payahārī, and by a later order founded by Rāmavallabha Śaraṇa which has its main centre at Ayodhya, The same **tilaka**, but with the frame drawn in yellow, is worn by followers of the **gaddī** of Gomatīdāsa at Ayodhya.

Some branches of the **Rāmānandī sampradāya** have a **tilaka** with both a **bindu** and a streak of red. Siṁha illustrates a variant of this which incorporates a red crescent and is worn by the Rūparāsa branch of the Galta **gaddī** founded by Jhājhūdāsa, a pupil of Agradāsa, followers of which are widespread in Rajasthan and Bundelkhand. A **tilaka** without an **āsana** is worn by followers of the **gaddī** at Galta and the paramparā of Śīlamaṇi at Ayodhya, both of which trace their origin back to Kṛṣṇadāsa Payahārī. it is also worn, with the frame optionally drawn in yellow by members of the **gaddī** at Raiwas (Shekhawati) Founded by Agradasa. Siṁha illustrates other variants of this **tilaka**, drawn either in white or yellow, which have additional motifs on either side of above, some of which have a round **bindu**. These he attributes to the more **rasika** of the Ramanandi sub-sects.

Bindudhari **sadhus** (sometimes called Bēdivale) wear a tilaka and a white bindu (called **śuklā** śrī), as worn by followers of Rāmaprasāda, who is known as Bindukācārya because he is believed to have originated the design. A **gaddī** related to that of Rāmaprasāda, founded in Deoria by Lakṣmī nārāyaṇadāsa Pavāhārī, is one of the sub-sects which wears this **tilaka** with a yellow **bindu**. A **tilaka** with a white **bindu** and no **āsana** is worn by followers of the **paramparā** of Kāmendraramaṇa of Ayodhya. The same design in yellow is worn by followers of Rāmasakhejī who have four **gaddīs** in Ayodhya and two in the **Vindhyas.**

Mādhva sampradāya

The **tilaka** of the Mādhva **sampradāya** is distinctive for its dark red **bindu,** made from the ash of plaintain flowers mixed with turmeric, placed beneath a thin black line of **dhūpaśeṣa.** The vertical lines of **gopīcandana** surrounding the **bindu** and black line are often omitted.

Gauḍīya sampradāya

The Gauḍīya **sampradāya** comprises numerous **parivāras** ('families'), many of which have their own distinctive **tilaka** drawn either with **gopīcandana** or clay from Rādhākuṇḍa. If a **bindu** is added it is drawn either with the **candana** used for the rest of the **tilaka,** with **dhūpaśeṣa,** or a black clay called **śyāmāñjanī.** Householders belonging to the **sampradāya** wear a **tilaka** more frequently than their counterparts in other Vaiṣṇava sects and married women often include their red **bindu** between the vertical lines. Many Gauḍīya devotees are also fond of writing or stamping names of their deities on their forehead, chest, and arms. Generally Gauḍīya **tilakas** are finely drawn, often with the vertical lines close together, and most of them have a point extending onto the bridge of the nose, sometimes having the shape of a particular leaf. (102)

The basic Gauḍīya **tilaka** has a triangular point and is worn by **parivāras** associated with the **gosvāmīs** Rūpa, Jīva, Sanātana, and Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, and was later adopted by the Gaudīya Matha. The addition of a black **bindu** is characteristic of the Nityānanda **parivāra**. Among the **tilakas** which do not have a **bindu** are those of the Advaitācārya **parivāra**, which has a banyan leaf shaped point, and the parivāra of Narottama Ṭhākura (a pupil of Lokanātha Gosvāmī) which has a point in the shape of a **tulasī** leaf joined at the root of the nose by a short stem. Followers of Gaṇganārāyaṇa Cakravartī (who form a branch of the Nityānanda **parivāra**) have a similar **tilaka**, but with the point inverted.

The **tilaka** of the Śyāmānanda **parivāra** is U-shaped and is drawn from the middle of the nose, slightly lower down than the **tilaka** of the Nimbārka **sampradāya** which it closely resembles. The **tilaka** of the Bakreśvara Paṇḍita **parivāra** and of followers of his pupil Gopāla Guru is an elongated 'U' shape extending to the tip of the nose. The **tilaka** of the **parivāra** of Gaṇgāmātā (a disciple of Sītāmāī, the wife of Advaitācārya is similar but is drawn slightly shorter to allow for the point which extends from its tip.

The **tilaka** of the Gopālā Bhatta **parivāra** has a outline in the shape of an extenuated triangle filled in at the bottom of form a triangular point drawn on the nose. The vertical line in the centre is drawn with **dhūpaśeṣa.** Followers of Lalitakiśora, a disciple of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, wear a similar **tilaka** but with a bindu instead of a line of **dhūpaśeṣa.** Followers of Rāmadāsa Bābā, a disciple of Rādhāramaṇacaraṇadāsa, are among the few Gauḍīyas who draw a large and bold **tilaka.** The point of the **tilaka** is drawn on the nose and the vertical lines are flared out into triangular wing-like shapes.

Nimbārka sampradāya

The Nimbārka **tilaka** is drawn with **gopīcandana** and extends downwards onto the bridge of the nose. the lines are usually finely drawn and flare outwards slightly at the top. A small bindu is drawn in the centre of the **tilaka**, either with **gopīcandana**, **dhūpaśeṣa**, or a dark-coloured clay. The black **bindu** is said to be a later innovation particularly favoured by the **rasikas** of the **sampradāya**. Followers of this **sampradāya** often dab **gopīcandana** or **kesaracandana** on their forehead on either side of the **tilaka**.

Ascetic followers of Svāmī Haridāsa, who associate themselves with the Nimbārka **sampradāya**, wear an elongated **tilaka** of **gopīcandana** which begins at the tip of the nose and may extend as far as the crown of the head. Earth of Braj (**Braj raj**) is normally daubed over the whole of the forehead on either side of the **tilaka** and over the shaven scalp.

Viṣṇusvāmī sampradāya

The tilaka worn by members of the Viṣṇusvāmī sampradāya consists of a 'U' shape and **bindu** of **gopīcandana** or **kesaracandana**. The **gosvāmīs** who look after the temple of Bānke Bihārī in Vrindaban (which houses the deity worshipped by Svāmī Haridāsa) draw this **tilaka** with **gopīcandana**, **rolī**, or the earth of Braj.

Vallabha sampradāya (puṣṭimārga)

The **tilaka** of the Vallabha **sampradāya** consists of a red 'U' shape drawn on the forehead, sometimes with a red or black **bindu**. A variation worn by initiates of the Gokul

gaddī has two parallel lines which are not joined at the bottom, the space in the centre being filled with yellow representing the earth of Braj between the banks of the Yamuna.

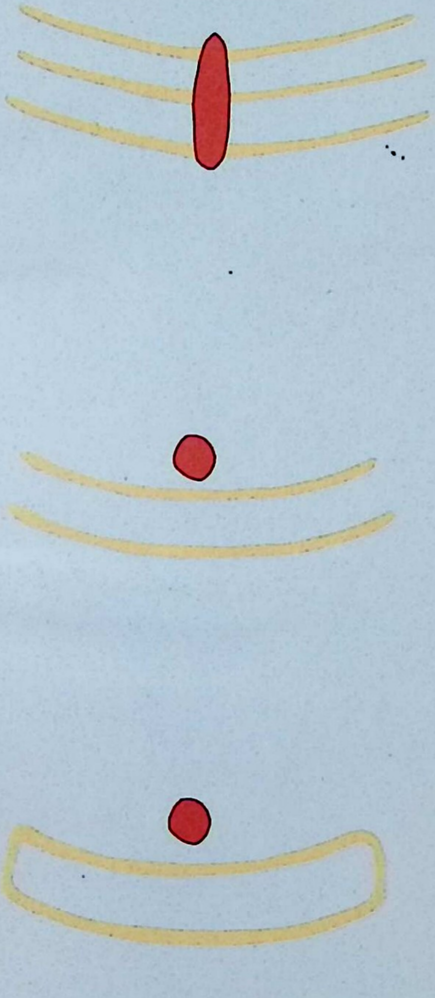
Rādhāvallabha sampradāya

The **tilaka** of the Rādhāvallabha **sampradāya** has two **bindus**, a red one representing Rādhā and a black one for Kṛṣṇa (if only one **bindu** is used it will normally be the black one). this **tilaka** is worn by **gosvāmīs** and householders who form the Bindu **parivāra**. The **sādhus** who belong to the Nāda **parivāra** wear a **tilaka** of **gopīcandana** or **kesaracandana** mixed with earth of Braj, preferably from Sevākuñja or Rādhākuṇḍa. A black or white **bindu** is added, the black one being made from candana mixed in an iron pot with **tulasī** and **caraṇāmṛta** and the white one with the **candana** used for the rest of the **tilaka**.

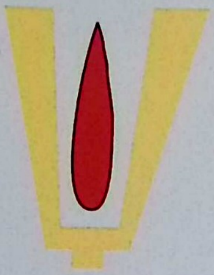
Other Vaiṣṇava sects

Several smaller Vaiṣṇava sects have their own particular **tilakas**, though those which worship an impersonal (**nirguṇa**) god and are opposed to all forms of idolatry are not likely to be seen wearing a **tilaka** and **tulasīmālā**. Kabīrpanthīs sometimes wear a streak of white **candana** or **gopīcandana** along the nose and up the centre of the forehead, or two upright lines with a **bindu** is the centre (black for members of the dhanautī branch). Members of the Dharmdāsī group dispense with the **bindu** and dab their upper eyelids with **candana**. Another group of Kabīrpanthīs branches out the vertical lines making them appear like forked sticks. (103) followers of Malūkdās wear a short streak of red colour on the forehead. (104) The use of a single streak is similar to the mark worn by some orders of Muslim **faqīrs**. (105)

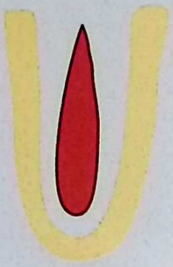
Members of the Śuka **sampradāya** (called Caraṇadāsīs) wear yellow garments, a rosary of one hundred and eight **tulasī** beads, and an elongated **bindu** of yellow-coloured **gopicandana** in the centre of the forehead. Followers of the Lalitā and Praṇāmī **sampradāyas** also wear **tilakas**. (106) The tilaka of the Lalitā **sampradāya** is drawn with **gopīcandana** or yellow-coloured **candana** and extends from the bridge of the nose to the hairline. The syllable śrī is written between the lines at the top and two **bindus** are added, one in the centre of the **tilaka** and the other just below the base of it. The **tilakas** of the two branches of the Praṇāmī **sampradāya** resemble those of the Nimbārkīs and the ascetic followers of Svāmī Haridāsa.



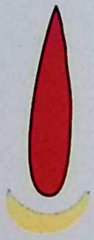
Some Śaiva & Śākta tilakas



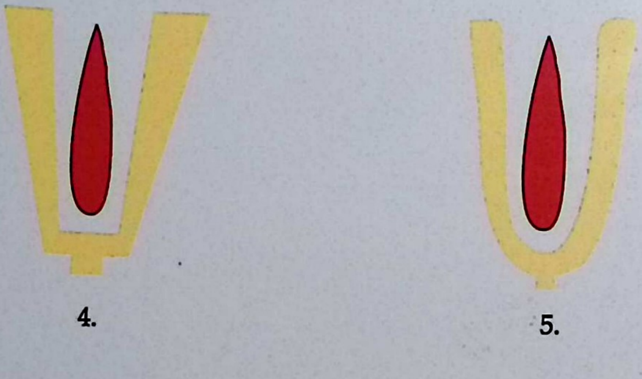
1. Rāmānuja (Teṇkalai)



2. Rāmānuja (Vaṭakalai)



3. Rāmānuja (women)



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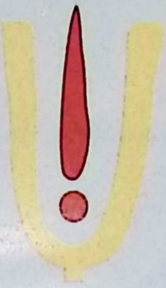
5.

Rāmānandī (basic forms)



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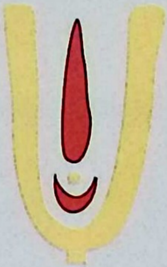

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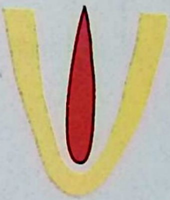

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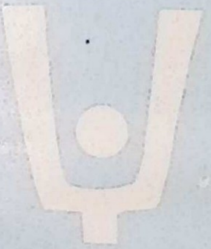

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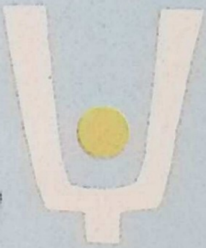

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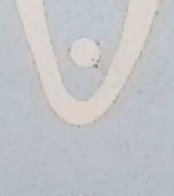

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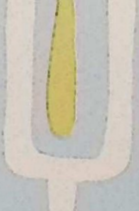

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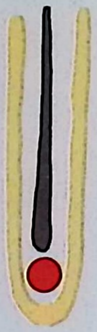

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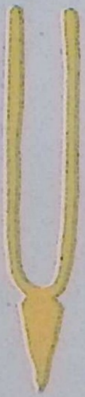
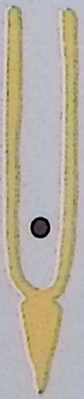
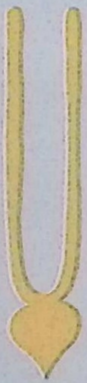


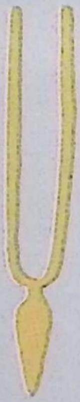
14.
Basic form



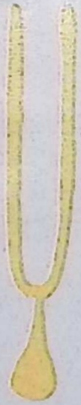
15.
Nityānanda
parivāra



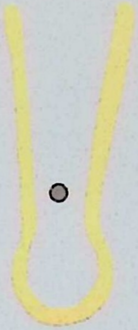
16.
Advaitācārya
parivāra



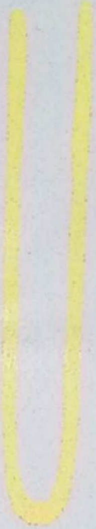
17.
Narottama
Ṭhākura
parivāra



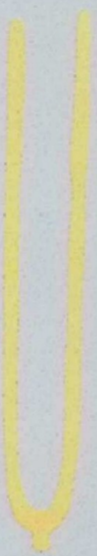
18.
Gaṅgānārāyana
Cakravartī
parivāra



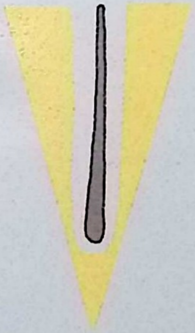
19.
śyāmānanda
parivāra



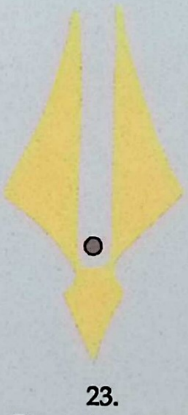
20.
Bakreśvara Paṇḍita and
Gopāla Guru parivāras



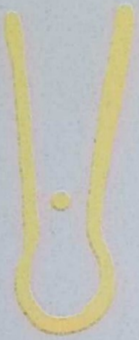
21.
Gaṅgāmātā
parivāra



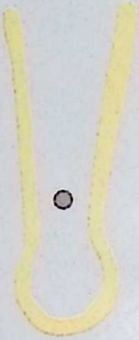
22.
Gopāla Bhaṭṭa
parivāra



23.
Rāmadāsa Bābā
parivāra

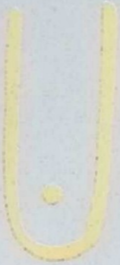


24.
Nimbārka (Kathia)



25.
Nimbārka

26.
Ascetic followers of
Svāmī Haridāsa



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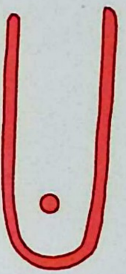
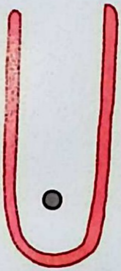


28.

Vallabha sampradāya



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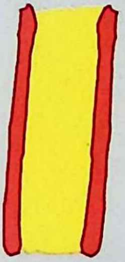
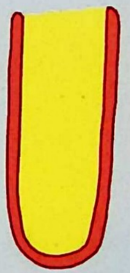
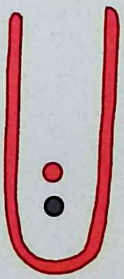


30.
Gokul gaddī

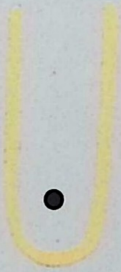


31.

Rādhāvallabha sampradāya



32.
Bindu parivāra



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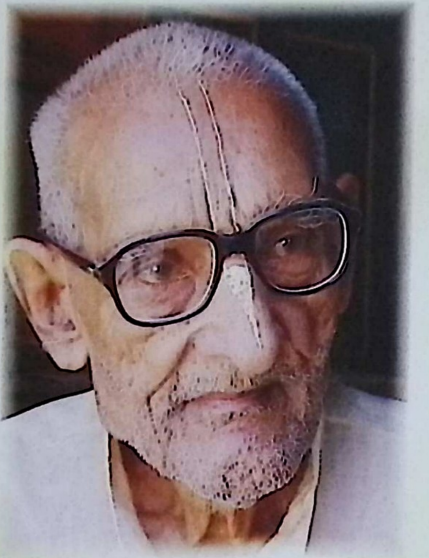
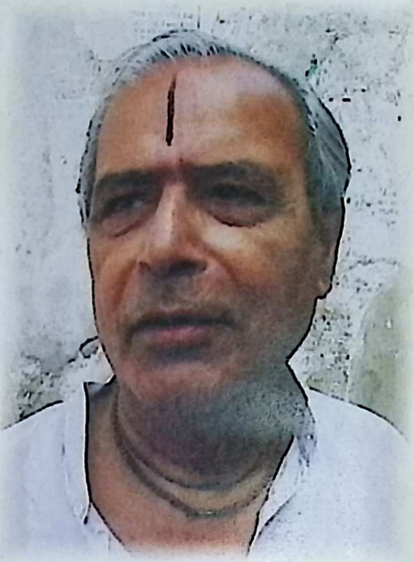
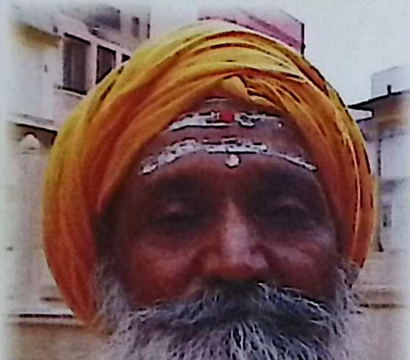
Nāda parivāra



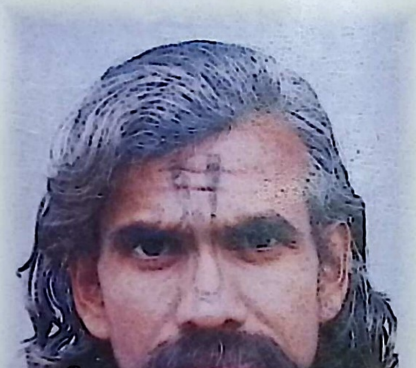
Gaudiya



Mādhva



Shaiva Sampradāya

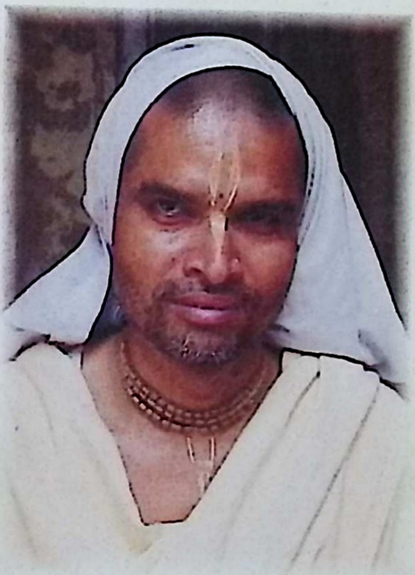


Gopālaguru Parivāra

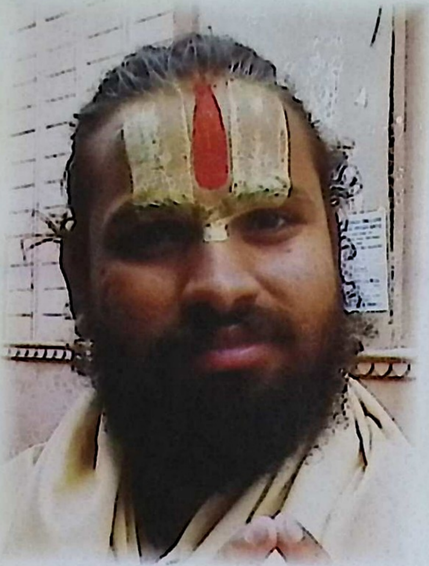
Gadādhar Parivāra

Advaita Parivāra

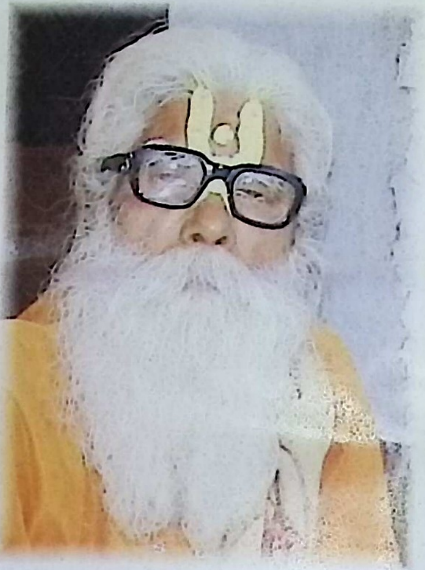
Gopāl Bhaṭṭa Parivāra



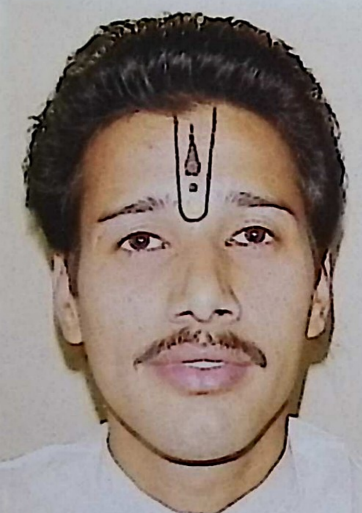
Rādhā Ramaṇa Charandās Parivāra



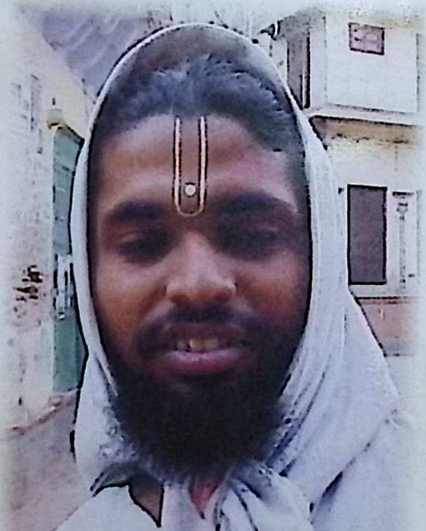
Rāmānuja



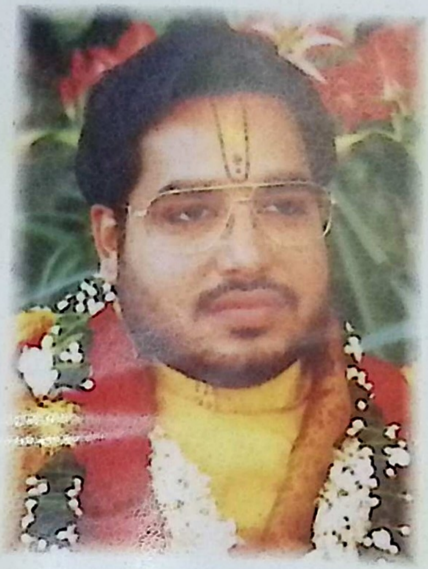
Rāmānandī Bindu Dhārī



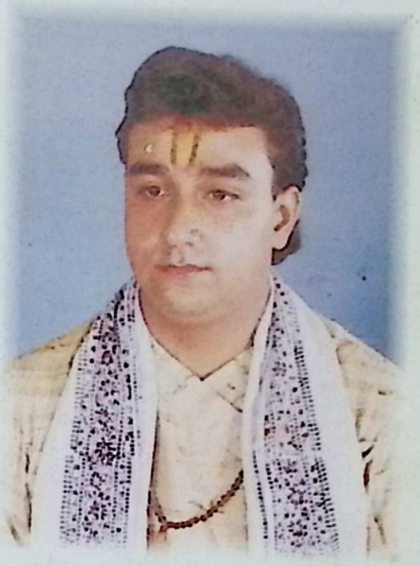
Rādhāvallabh



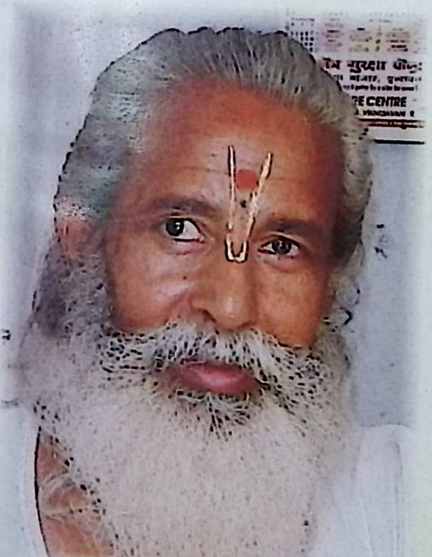
Viṣṇu Swāmī



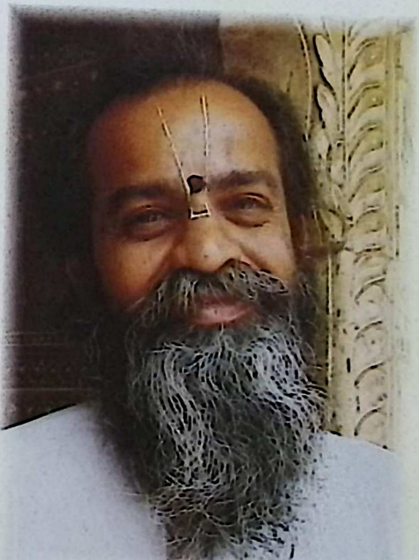
Vallabh Sampradāya



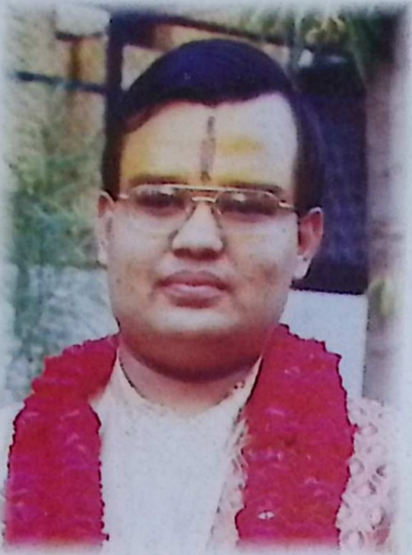
Vallabh Sampradāya



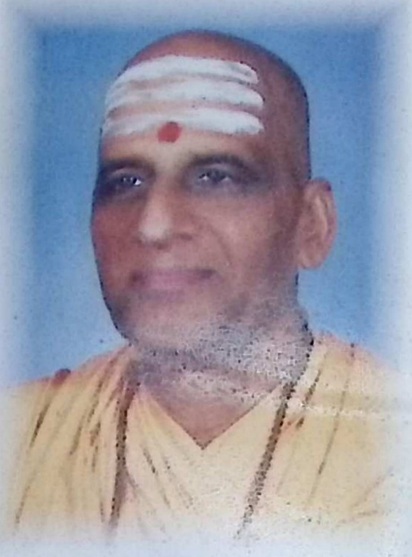
Nimbārka Harivyāsī Sovurandwārā



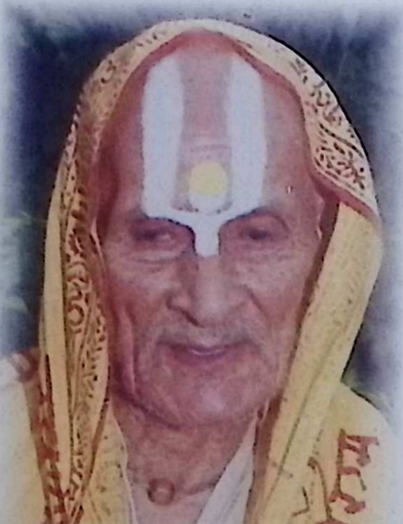
Nimbārkī Parasurām Dwārā



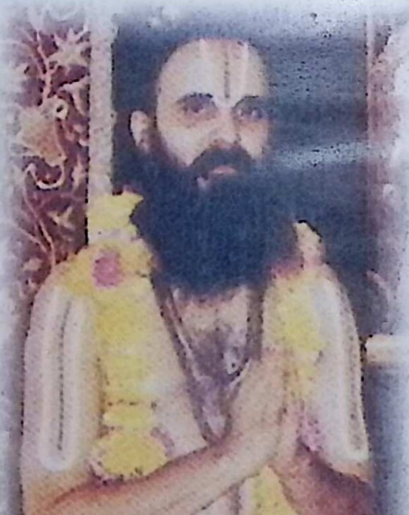
Special Tilak



Karṣṇi Saṃpradāyā



Rāmānandi (Bindudhārī)



Srī·Vaiṣṇava

SOME LEGENDS

References are made to **tilakas** in several legends told of the Vaiṣṇava saints. These are found in sectarian histories or in biographies such as those contained in the **Bhaktamālas**, hagiographical works written in Hindi which give brief accounts of incidents in the lives of saints to illustrate the intensity of their devotion. Such stories give an idea of the significance of the **tilaka** in the modern period since they emphasize aspects of its symbology which are not stressed in the Purāṇas. In these stories the **tilaka** appears as a sign of one's dedication and observance of daily ritual rather than as a means of securing certain spiritual rewards as a result of sanctifying the body.

An incident narrated in the **Caitanyabhāgavata**, written late in the sixteenth century shortly after Caitanya's death, shows how the **tilaka** is regarded as a sign that one has washed and purified oneself properly. One morning two students attended Caitanya's class without having applied their **tilakas**. He asked them if they had performed their morning meditation and other ritual observances, reminding them that such practices must be observed if the eternal religion (**sanātanadharma**) is to be established. Since it is necessary to apply a **tilaka** before **pūjā** and meditation, he told them that brahmins who do not do so render their forehead akin to a cremation ground. He sent the students home and ordered them to put on a **tilaka** and perform their morning rites correctly before coming to study. (107)

Among devout people the **tilaka** is still regarded as a sign that a person has completed his ablutions and prayers. Many will feel that their washing is not complete unless they mark their forehead with at least a small **bindu** or dab of **candana.**

Tilakas are referred to in stories connected with some of the saints featured in the most widely read of **Bhaktamālas**, that of NābhāJī, to which Priyādāsa added a commentary entitled **Bhaktirasabodhinī** early in the eighteenth century. One saint mentioned is Paraśurāma, an **ācārya** of the Nimbārka **sampradāya** :

> *Paraśurāma made all the forest people servants (of the Lord), just as the breeze from sandal trees imparts their fragrance to the nīm and as the risen sun dispels deep long-lasting darkness. He followed the saintly path of Śrī Bhaṭṭa and Harivyāsa, his tongue proclaimed the virtues of Hari through preaching, song, and rituals, and with devotion to Govinda his* ***tilaka*** *and* ***mālā*** *remedied disease like an expert physician. Paraśurāma made all the forest people servants (of the Lord). (108)*

One saint associated with the **tilaka** is Harirāma Vyāsa, who was born in 1510 and is said to have lived for over a hundred years. He was originally from Orchha but settled in Vrindaban where he founded a temple dedicated to Yugalakiśora and became an associate of two other poet-saints, Hita Harivaṁśa and Haridāsa. NābhāJī says that he was particularly fond of the **tilaka** and **mālā** and was extremely devoted to his devotees. (109)

From Harirāma Vyāsa himself we learn that he used the earth of Vrindaban for his sectarian marks :

> *I make use of the earth of Vrindaban, the mālā, stamp, śyāmabindu, and* **tilaka** *are my adornments, the water of the Yamuna is my drinking water, and my food is the grain of Braj. (110)*

Hare the wearing of the **tilaka** is seen as part of the process of purifying and sanctifying the body through contact with elements from the setting of Kṛṣṇa's pastimes in Braj.

From Priyādāsa we learn that Harirāma Vyāsa divided his wealth between his three sons in a novel manner. To one (Vilāsdāsa) he gave his deity KiśoraJī and the right to perform **sevā**, to another (Rāsadāsa) he gave his wealth, and to the third (Kiśoradāsa) the right to wear the **śyāmabindu** and the stamp (**chāpa**) with which he used to mark the **tilaka** on his forehead. Kiśoradāsa gave the **chāpa** to Haridāsa. whom he joined in singing poems to Lalitā and her companions on the subject of Kṛṣṇa's dancing with the **gopīs**. (111) The **bindu** and **chāpa** evidently formed a legacy considerable enough to be bestowed on one of his sons. Further confirmation of the importance Harirāma Vyāsa gave to the **tilaka** is found in one of his poems where he equates it with the mark worn by a faithful wife (**satī**) who is so devoted to her husband that she readily immolates herself on his funeral pyre :

> *If you wear the* **tilaka** *and mālā then the honour of your body, mind, and resolution is maintained. With*

> *complete faith in Hari, through thought, word, and deed, you cross the oceans of wordly strife, counting it as but a straw. Just as the* ***satī*** *who has worn the mark of* ***sindūra*** *does not turn away from the burning* ***ghāt****, so Vyāsadāsa never forgets his affection for Kṛṣṇa. (112)*

The **tilaka** as a symbol of unshakeable faith and steadfastness appears in a few stories of saints who resisted attempts by Muslim rulers to suppress Vaiṣṇavism. Among these is bhagavāndāsa, a pupil of Yuta Khojījī and Śyāmadāsa, who lived in Mathura. Priyādāsa says (113) that the Mughal emperor, noticing that many of his subjects were wearing a **tilaka** and **mālā**, which he considered to be a refutation of his authority, issued a proclamation to the effect that no one should wear them. Many Vaiṣṇavas gave up wearing them for fear of losing their lives, but one devotee, Bhagavāndāsa, was so filled with the blissful ocean of **bhakti** that he dared to present himself before the emperor wearing his **tilaka** and **mālā**. The emperor was so impressed and pleased by this display of faith and courage that he permitted Bhagavāndāsa to continue to reside in Mathura. It is also said that the saint subsequently founded a temple dedicated to Harideva.

A similar story is told about Bihāriṇadeva (or Bihāriṇadāsa), a follower of Haridāsa, though the incident is not related in Nijamatasiddhānta, a work containing biographies of the **ācāryas** and saints of the sect. The emperor Akbar, who had a reputation for broad-mindedness in religious matters, decided to test the faith of the Vaiṣṇavas. He summoned them all to attend his **darbār**, but warned that none of them must appear wearing a **tilaka** or **mālā**. Among all the saints and mahantas invited Bihāriṇadeva alone decided that he would nevertheless pesent himself before Akbar wearing the signs of his faith. This was not on account of any egotism, it is said, because Rādhā had appeared to him in a dream and told him not to be afraid. Accordingly Bihāriṇadeva put on extra **tulasīmālās** and enhanced his **tilaka** by smearing it with his thumb so that it extended down to the tip of his nose. this is how the ascetic followers of Haridāsa account for their wearing of extra **mālās** and the fact that their **tilaka** is an elongated version of that of the Nimbārka **sampradāya**. At te **darbār** Akbar proclaimed that Bihāriṇadeva was foremost among the Vaiṣṇavas on account of his steadfastness.

Another story is related in sectarian histories concerning Gusānī Gokulanātha, the fourth son of Viṭṭhalanātha, the son of Vallabha. Gokulanātha, who lived from 1551 to 1647, was a notable scholar and writer of the **sampradāya** and the story concerning him and the **tilaka** and **mala** is known as the **mālā prasaṅga.** (114) According to the sectarian accounts of the incident the Mughal ruler Jahāngīr issued an imperial decree to the efect that Vaiṣṇavas would be punished for wearing their **tilaka** and **mālā**. Gokulanātha refused to obey this order and continued to wear them despite attempts by Muslim officials to persuade him either to stop wearing the Vaiṣṇava emblems or to leave Braj. Eventually Gokulanātha, with a band of followers, had to move to Soron on the bank of the Ganges. At that time only Giridhara, eldest son of Viṭṭhalanātha, was able to remain in Braj to supervise the temples and devotees, with the result that the religious activity of the area suffered and the temples became desolate. Those Vaiṣṇavas who remained in Braj were subject to increasing persecution at the hands of the Muslims.

Gokulanātha finally went to the imperial **darbār** to request Jahāngīr to reconsider his decree. At that time Jahāngīr was in Kashmir but Gokulanātha, though he was seventy years of age, made the long journey to see him. He presented himself at the **darbār** and spoke in defence of the **tilaka** and **kaṇṭhīmālā**, mentioning the ordinances of the **śāstras** and reminding those present of the tolerance which the Emperor Akbar had shown towards the Vaiṣṇavas of Braj. Later Jahāngīr, when he passed through Gokul and saw for himself the decline his decree had brought about, decided to revoke his order. Shortly after this Gokulanātha returned to Braj and all the Vaiṣṇavas, happy to be able to wear their **mālā** and **tilaka** again, sang his praise with the cry Jaya, **jaya Śrī Gokuleśa**.

According to sectarian tradition Jahangīr issued his order in 1617 and repealed it three years later. It is also said that he was persuaded to pass the order by a Tantric **saṁnyāsī** named Jadarūpa who was an enemy of the Vaiṣṇavas. Although Jahāngīr refers to a meeting with Jadarūpa in his autobiography, he makes no mention of his having been persuaded by him to ban the Vaiṣṇava **tilaka** and **mālā**. According to the sectarian version of the story Jadarūpa was a brahmin from Gujarat who went to Ujjain and resided in a cave on the banks of the Sipra river. Here he met and argued with two followers of Gokulanātha and criticized them for wearing a **mālā** since it degraded them as brahmins, but the Vaiṣṇavas claimed that they wore it in accordance with the **śāstras**. In the eleventh year of his reign Jahāngīr went with his army from Ajmer to Ujjain where he met Jadarūpa who told him that wearers of the **ūrdhvapuṇdra** and **kaṇṭhīṃālā** were subversive. Jahāngīr, greatly impressed by his asceticism and learning, later issued his decree banning the **tilaka** and **mālā**.

Despite the dubious historicity of the episode it was to become a subject of praise among several writers of the Vallabha **sampradāya**, one well known verse beginning as follows :

> *The son of Viṭṭhala, born of the mighty Vallabha, prevails ! Showing great fortitude you retained your* ***tilaka*** *and* ***mālā****; destroying the hypocrisy of the ascetic and putting him to shame, you defeated this age of decadence, a true friend of tradition.* (115)

Some followers of the sect find in this incident an explanation for the origin of the distinctive **tilaka** worn by members of the Gokul branch (**gaddī**) of the **sampradāya**. They say that when Gokulanātha went to Jahāngīr's **darbār** he drew an incomplete tilaka of two parallel lines, stating that he would join them up at the bottom only if he won his case. After returning from the **darbār** his followers begged him to keep his **tilaka** of two lines so that, as a reminder of his victory, it might be distinguished from the **tilaka** worn by other branches of the **sampradāya**. Alternatively it is said that Gokulanātha was summoned to the **darbār** before he had time to draw his **tilaka** properly and so went before the ruler with only two hastily drawn lines.

A similar story is told to explain the origin of the Rāmānandī Laṣkarī tilaka which was introduced by

Bālānanda, a member of the militant order of ascetics founded by Svāmī abhayānanda. (116) Once Bālānanda, while applying his **tilaka**, was informed of an impending attack by Śaiva Daśanāmī **sādhus**. In his haste to join the fray he drew his **śrī** line in white instead of red, hence the Laśkarī **tilaka** has since been entirely white. In the eighteenth century another Rāmānandī, named Rāmaprasāda, earned the apellation Bindukācārya because once, when in a hurry to be in time for worship, he rushed to the temple without placing a red line in the centre of his **tilaka**. On seeing this, the deity Jānaki (Sītā) applied a **bindu** on his forehead with her own hand, in commemoration of which his followers are said to have adopted the **bindu** to form their own distinctive **tilaka**. (117)

Another legend involving Rāmānandī devotees illustrates how varieties of **tilaka** may be held to represent different religious attitudes among the sub-sects. It is said (118) that Rāmacaraṇadāsa, an **ācārya** who was initiated by Raghunāthaprasāda (a pupil of Rāmaprasāda) wanted to study texts dealing with the divine love of Rāma and Sītā, in particular a work entitled **Agrasāgara** by Agradāsa. A copy of this text was kept at Raiwas and he managed to persuade the devotees there to let him see it. When the head of the community saw him reading the text he told him that only initiates who wore the tilaka of the Raiwas **gaddī** were entitled to study its esoteric teachings. Rāmacaraṇadāsa was told that only if he were prepared to modify his **tilaka** by omitting the **siṁhāsana** would he be allowed to study the **Agrasāgara**, as long as he did not copy any portion of it. This stipulation was made because the siṁhāsana was regarded as a symbol of overlordship which conflicted with the sectarian concept of Rāma as being primarily concerned with divine love. Rāmacaraṇadāsa's earnest desire to study the text induced him to overcome his initial reservations about modifying his **tilaka.**

Followers of the Gauḍīya saint Śyāmānanda refer to their **tilaka** as a **kṛpābindu** since it was given to Śyāmānanda by the grace of favour **(kṛpā)** of Rādhā. (119) Śyāmānanda used to perform the devout service of sweeping the sacred grove of Nidhivana in Vrindaban, which is still believed to be frequented by Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. One morning he found a gold anklet which Rādhā had dropped while dancing. Her companion, Lalitā, approached him disguised as a village girl and said that the anklet belonged to her mistress. Śyāmānanda, however refused to give it to her, saying that her mistress should come in person to collect it. Rādhā was so pleased with his determination to see that the anklet was returned to its rightful owner that she came to him herself . She gave him the name of Śyāmānanda (he had previously been known as Dukhī Kṛṣṇadāsa) and, pressing the anklet against his forehead, said that he should henceforth draw his **tilaka** in imitation of its shape. Consequently followers of Śyāmānanda wear a 'U' shaped **tilaka** with a **bindu,** normally white, which is said to represent one of the bells of the anklet. It is said that Śyāmānanda earned this favour from Rādhā because he had worshipped her steadfastly for twelve years.

Jīva Gosvāmī, who at that time was the leading authority in the Gauḍiya sect, noticed that Śyāmānanda was wearing a new **tilaka** and asked him why. On hearing his account of Rādhā's appearance, Jīva Gosvāmī summoned all the Vaiṣṇavas and declared that Śyāmānanda's new name and **tilaka** should be recognized. However, Śyāmānandās guru, Hṛdaya Caitanya (a disciple of Caitanya's companion Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita), disapproved of the new tilaka since he wore the mark of the followers of Nityānanda which had the shape of a bamboo leaf. He called an assembly of **mahantas** and **sādhus** in order to test the authenticity of Śyāmānanda's **tilaka**. He said that it would only be accepted if it could not be erased from Śyāmānanda's forehead. He rubbed at Śyāmānanda's **tilaka** so hard that his foehead began to bleed, but the tilaka grew even brighter. Śyāmānanda fainted and the other mahantas present helped to revive him. Hṛdaya Caitanya then tried unsuccessfully to erase the **tilaka** with a damp cloth until he finally had to accept defeat. Rādhā then appeared to Hṛdaya Caitanya in a dream and told him that he had committed in offence in trying to rub away Śyāmānanda's **tilaka** since it was awarded to him as a sign of her anklet. She instructed Hṛdaya Caitanya to compensate by holding a feast for all the **sādhus**. This feast is still celebrated by followers of Śyāmānanda and is known as **gurujī kā daṇḍotsava** or **daṇḍamahotsava**.

In a book describing the lives of notable Gauḍīya saints (120) a story is told about Siddha Śrī Kṛṣṇa dāsa Bābā to explain why the practice of applying the marks of the conch and discus has lapsed. Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā was born in East Bengal, but renounced all and came to live in Vrindaban when his family began to make arrangements for his marriage. Eventually he settled on the bank of a tank at Raṇavāṛī (near Kosi) where he built a small hut and began to beg for his food. Having come straight from Bengal to Braj he decided to set out on a pilgrimage to visit the main places of worship. Rādhā then appeared to him in a dream and told him to abandon the idea and take refuge in her since, being already spiritually accomplished, he had no need to make any pilgrimage. Kṛṣṇadāsa, however, did not put any faith in the dream and set out for Dwarka. As was the Custom when visiting the temple of Dvārakānātha, he bathed in the Gomati river and had his arms branded with the conch and discus (nowadays pilgrims make the marks with **gopīcandana**). Although **Haribhaktivilāsa** states that devotees should wear these emblems, those whose spiritual aim is to participate in the nikuñjalīlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇā in the role of an attendant do not follow this practice, but Kṛṣṇadāsa, in accordance with the injunctions of the scriptures, had himself branded.

On his return to Braj Rādhā again appeared in a dream and informed Kṛṣṇadāsa that by having had himself branded he had committed himself to the service of Kṛṣṇa's Dwarka wives, Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā, and should therefore return to Dwarka. He was extremely distressed by this command and sought the advice of prominent **mahātmās** who were residing in Braj at the time. One of these, another Kṛṣṇadāsa Bāba who lived at Govardhan, told him to go away, not to touch him, and to give up the worship of Rādhā since he had associated himself with the rich urban followers at Darka and had forsaken the poor vairāgīs of Braj. Since he had been repudiated by Rādha the other **mahātmās** were reluctant to offer any suggestions. The only alternative for Kṛṣṇadāsa was to perform a severe penance.

He returned to his hut at Raṇavāṛī to meditate and suffer the pangs of separation from the object of his devotion. He neither are nor drank and his body began to burn up. At that time an old and infirm mahanta from Nabadwip named Siddha Jagannāthadāsa Bābā was being carried around Braj in a basket on the back of one of his pupils, Bihārīdāsa Brajavāsī. When they came to Raṇavāṛī Jagannātha asked Bihārīdāsa to see what was going on in Kṛṣṇadāsa's hut. Bihārīdāsa looked and saw that Kṛṣṇadāsa's body was burning, but the door was locked from the inside. He explained to Jagannātha how the saint's body was burning up with the fire of separation (**virahānala**) and that it was glowing red as far up as the **mālā** about his neck. Jagannātha asked some villagers to break open the door of the hut and told Bihārīdāsa to bring some cotton from which he made three wicks. These he lit and placed on Kṛṣṇadāsa's head, upon which his head began to burn as well. Only the words **Rādhe, Rādhe!** came from the mouth of Kṛṣṇadāsa. All the villagers began to weep because Kṛṣṇadāsa had said, when the fire had reached his chest, that there would be no famine or disease in the village, and these words had proved true. Eventually Kṛṣṇadāsa left his body and a memorial (samādhi) was erected on the spot. Before dying Kṛṣṇadāsa ordained that there should be an annual kīrtana and vigil there and now, on the new moon of the month of Pauṣa, a festival is held to commemorate his tapas. From that time the Gauḍīyas abandoned the practice of marking their body with the conch and discus.

Appendix

THE VAIṢṆAVA SAMPRADĀYAS

Members of the various modern Vaiṣṇava sects, although they worship different manifestations of Viṣṇu, revere different saints, and accept different interpretations of the canonical scriptures, all share a common mythology and a basic series of rituals and practices which have been inherited from an older form of Viṣṇu worship that evolved prior to the medieval period. During the first millenium of the Christian era the mythology of Visnu as a supreme and protective deity who descended to earth in a series of incarnations was consolidated in later sections of the **Mahābhārata** and **Rāmāyaṇa** and in the various Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas. The earlier worshippers of Viṣṇu, known as Bhāgavatas, described and interpreted their rituals in Pāñcarātra texts, vast liturgical and doctrinal compendia from which later Vaiṣṇavas derived their breviaries and other ritual texts. Different sectarian traditions are handed down among groups of Vaiṣṇavas who constitute what is referred to as a sampradāya. Traditionally four sampradāyas are enumerated, their names, founders, and philosophies being as follows :

name of sampradāya	founder (ācārya)	type of philosophy
Śrī	Rāmānuja	viśiṣṭādvaita
Brahmā	Madhva	dvaita
Sanakādi	Nimbārka	dvaitādvaita
Rudra	Viṣṇusvāmī	śuddhādvaita

These **sampradāyas** derive their names from their divine inceptor, but the last three listed are more commonly named after the **ācārya** who founded them.

Their philosophies were framed as attempts at refuting Śaṇkara, the champion of monism, by rejecting his doctrine that the phenomenal world is an illusory product of **māyā**, that the supreme being is without attributes (**nirguṇa**), and that the only path to ultimate liberation is one of intellectual realization (**jñāna**). The four Vaiṣṇava **sampradāyas** offer different **explanations** of the relationship between god as surpeme soul, individual souls, and the phenomenal world, the Mādhva **sampradāya** being distinctive for its through going dualism. The philosophers of the four **sampradāyas**, being exponents of Vedānta, produced commentaries on the Vedas, Upaniṣads, and in particular the **Brahmasūtras** of Bādarāyaṇa. Some **sampradāyas** also have commentaries on the **Bhagavadgītā** and for many later commentators the **Bhāgavatpurāṇa** was recognized as a canonical text. All four **sampradāyas** agree that brahman is the supreme cause of the universe which, possessed of an infinite number of attributes, appears as **īśvara**. they hold that individual souls and the inanimate world are both as real as **brahman** and that their individual distinctions can never be completely lost. Individual souls are believed to be atomic and infinite in number and capable of knowledge and activity, their deliverance from the gross material world (**saṁsāra**) being their ultimate goal. This release from an endless cycle of rebirths is, they believe, only attainable through devotion (**bhakti**), to which ritual actions and intellectual apprehension are subordinate.

Philosophy and theology, however, remained a pursuit of Vaiṣṇava intellectuals. The masses were inspired by songs composed in the vernacular languages by various 'poet-saints', the first of whom were the Ālvārs who were adopted by the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas as precursors of their **sampradāya**. Other **sampradāyas** also have groups of poet-saints associated with them, while some independent and popular movements have grown up around individual saints whose followers have not felt the need to declare their affiliation to one of the four major **sampradāyas** or to embody their doctrines in a commentary on the **Brahmasūtras**.

Śrī sampradāya

The Śrī **sampradāya** is comprised of followers of Rāmānuja and Rāmānanda. Although Rāmānuja is regarded as the founder of the **sampradāya**, its origins are traced back to earlier teachers, one of whom was Nāthamuni, the earliest **ācārya** to be associated with the temple of Shrirangam in Tamil Nadu. Nāthamuni is believed to have inherited the religious inspiration and teachings of the Ālvārs through Nāmmālvār, the last of the group of devotional poets, who had given the songs of his predecessors a unified and systematic presentation. Nāthamuni's grandson, Yāmuna, provided further philosophical justification for the **bhakti** approach and the doctrine of submission or self-surrender (**prapatti**) to divine will. He also defended the Pāñcarātra rituals, claiming that its exponents, the Bhāgavatas, were following authentic Vedic and brahminical traditions.

Rāmānuja was active in the latter half of the eleventh century and succeeded Yāmuna as **ācārya** at Shrirangam.

He produced commentaries on the **Brahmasūtras** and **Bhagavadgītā** which became authoritative for later adherents of the **sampradāya**. Basically his philosophy seeks to establish a unity between the spiritual and material elements which comprise the universe by regarding the material world as constituting the body of god. He also asserted that knowledge of **brahman** is obtained through religious observances, **bhakti**, and divine grace, which ultimately supersede the orthodox path of Vedic ritual, as well as **yoga** and inferences drawn from perception and experience. In contrast to Śaṇkara's view that the soul, when it attains full enlightenment (**jñāna**), achieves a state of liberation in which it realizes its essential and absolute unity with **brahman**, Rāmānuja declares that the soul becomes god-like but remains different from him, thus allowing for the possiblility of a **bhakti** relationship based on mutual love.

Although Śaṇkara's monism is more throughly logical, Rāmānuja's theism allowed him to accommodate the concept of Viṣṇu as a protector and saviour who assumed different incarnations and dispenses grace to his devotees. He regarded the supreme being as both material and efficient cause who creates the world through his power of illusion (**māyā**) in order to enact his divine play (**līlā**), and is therefore both immanent and transcendent, the inner controller of individual souls as well as of the material world.

Later philosophers and theologians of the **sampradāya** emphasized the role of Śrī (Lakṣmī) as an immanent power in nature which helps the soul to receive grace. They gave a more schematic presentation of Rāmānuja's teaching, broadening its scope so as to incorporate theories concerning the function of idol worship, the role of Viṣṇu's incarnations, and the ways in which **bhakti** may be cultivated. Nāthamuni, Yāmuna, and Rāmānuja appear to have been academic philosophers who confined themselves to theoretical discussion on traditional commentatorial lines and did not deal with aspects of popular worship or declare themselves to be proponents of any particular **sampradāya**. It was the later Śrī Vaiṣṇavas who claimed them as ācāryas of their sect and who blended their Vedānta philosophy with Pāñcarātra ritual and the emotional devotion of the Ālvārs.

Within two centuries of Rāmānuja's death there was a schism in the **sampradāya** which centered around the question of **prapatti** in relation to divine grace. The two sub-sects which resulted from this schism are the Vaṭaklai ('northern group') based at the Varadarājasvāmī temple at Kanchipuram, and the Teṇkalai ('southern group) based at the temple of Raṅganātha at Shrirangam. The Vaṭakalai maintain that man must actively cooperate in order to receive grace, just as a baby monkey has to clung to its mother in order to be taken to a place of safety, while the Tenkalai hold that no self-effort is necessary, interpreting prapatti as passive submission, just as a kitten allows itself to be picked up by its mother. The Vaṭakalai also minimized references to Rāmānuja's supposed liberalism in matters of caste and regarded Śrī as being infinite like the Lord himself. The Teṇkalai emphasized Rāmānuja's liberalism and regard Śrī as simply the foremost among finite spirits.

The influence of the Teṇkalai school has been more widespread, since they are more closely involved with popular worship, while the Vaṭakalai have remained more elitist and exclusive. The temple of Raṅganātha has retained its historical importance through its association with Rāmānuja and has become a model for Śrī vaiṣṇavas in matters of ritual and doctrine inscriptions show that the oldest srī Vaiṣṇava temples began to receive grants from the Cōḷa rulers as early as the ninth century but reached their zenith in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when the buildings and festival activities were elaborated.

Although followers of Rāmāṇuja maintain temples at important centres of pilgrimage all over India they do not have many adherents outside of the Tamil speaking area. In the north of India the **Śrī sampradāya** is represented by the Rāmānandīs, followers of the saint Rāmānanda who was probably born in the fourteenth century and studied at Benares. In terms of theology and philosophy the Rāmānandīs are related to the followers of Rāmāṇuja, but in their daily worship they give prominence to Rāma and Sītā rather than to Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī). Rāmānanda is said to have been initiated by a follower of Rāmānuja and to have adopted a socially radical stance by encouraging use of the vernacular in preference to Sanskrit and by opposing caste discrimination. Rāmānandīs recognize the need for **prapatti** and view the relationship between god and his devotee as being comparable to that between master and servant, as exemplified by Hanumān's devoted service of Rāma. Adherents are found all over northern India and include many ascetics (**vairāgīs** or **sādhus**) who are affiliated to various monastic communities which maintain a guru-pupil lineage.

In general Rāmānandīs are more faithful to the liberal pretensions of the Vaiṣṇava reformers than are members of other **sampradāyas** and are more willing to admit members of the lower castes. Rāmānandīs typically worship a personified (**saguṇa**) form of Rāma, as extolled and popularized by the poet Tulasīdāsa, but there are many devotees, loosely defined as 'Rāmānandīs', who regard to godhead as being without attributes or qualities (**nirguṇa**). These are the Santas who emphasize contemplation and repetition of the name of Rāma as a means to salvation and include followers of such popular saints as Kabīr and Ravidāsa, who are claimed to have been disciples of Rāmānanda. They can hardly be classified as belonging to the Śrī **sampradāya**; for them the term 'Vaisṇava' has more the meaning of 'following a pure and righteous way of life' rather than denoting a worshipper of Viṣṇu.

Since the seventeenth century, following the popularity of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā worship among other **sampradāyas**, some Rāmānandīs have formed **rasika** sub-sects which concentrate upon the relationship of Rāma and Sītā as a supreme example of divine love.

Mādhva sampradāya

Madhva, who lived in the thirteenth century, belonged to a family of brahmins who were associated with two temples at Udipi in Karnataka (viz. Ananteśvara and Candramaulīśvara) where an apparently 'Vaiṣṇavized' form of **liṇga** worship was practised. He eventually founded a Kṛṣṇa temple at udipi and appointed eight of his disciples as heads of monastic communities around the town which continue to share the temple service. Some texts which prescribe the rituals to be followed in the temple are attributed to Madhva himself. In contrast to the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, who excluded Śiva worship from their temples, it seems that Madhva, by admitting the worship of non-Vaiṣṇava deities as subordinate members of the pantheon, orientated the worship of his originally **smārta** community along more purely Vaiṣṇava lines.

Madhva propagated a dualistic **(dvaita)** philosophy which was fundamentally opposed to the monism of Śaṅkara. The five basic distinctions which he enumerated were between (1) god and matter (following the **puruṣa/prakṛti** distinction of **sāṁkhya**), (2) god and individual souls (**paramātman** and **Jīvātman**), (3) individual souls and matter, (4) one individual soul and another, (5) one material objects and another. Matter and spirit are thought to exist eternally in separation and both are equally real though their mode of existence is different. Individual souls and matter are dependent on god, the only real agent, from whom all things derive. The material world is not illusory but is a place in which god is the recognition of our dependent on god, the only real agent, from whom all things derive. The material world is not illusory but is a place in which god and the soul can meet, field of action for divine grace and **līlā Bhakti** is the recognition of our depaendence on him. Madhva believed that only such a dualistic attitude allows one to postulate the reality of the world and the transcendence of god; any suggestion that god is somehow incorporated in the substance of the universe involves him in the process of becoming and so diminishes his status. The concept of god being a material cause is rejected in favour of the view that he is only the efficient cause and is therefore ontologically different from the effects created.

The Mādhva **sampradāya** has a large following in Karnataka but there are only scattered adherents elsewhere in India, usually associated with small communities established in the major pilgrimage centres. The popularity of the **sampradāya** in Karnataka may partly be attributed to the fact that it had the allegiance of a series of poets, called Haridāsas, who wrote devotional songs in the Kannada vernacular. As adherents of Madhva's dualistic philosophy they extol a continuous sate of rapture and self-surrender to god rather than one of blissful union with the absolute.

Gauḍīya sampradāya

This primarily Bengali sect, which originated among followers of Caitanya, is sometimes referred to as the Mādhva-Gauḍīya **sampradāya** since later sectarian scholars, wishing to align themselves to one of the four classic **sampradāyas**, claimed affiliation to the school of Madhva in the belief that Caitanya had received initiation from one of its adherents.

Caitanya, whose lifespan in traditionally held to be 1486-1533, was born in the town of Nabadwīp in West Bengal. He started out as a promising scholar, but decided to forsake the life of a householder and scholar and immerse himself totally in an emotional and ecstatic style of devotion which sought to gain experience of the godhead through continual chanting of the names of the Lord ('Hare Kṛṣṇa, Hare Rāma'). His ecstatic devotion was such an inspiration to others that he soon attracted a number of followers who expressed their religious fervour through group participation in processions which featured singing, chanting, and dancing. According to early biographies he made a tour of South India and, in his later years, became particularly devoted to the deity Jagannātha at Puri. Swooning, tears of joy, states of trance and ecstasy are recurrent elements in stories told about Caitanya and his total absorption in love for Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. He developed a strong desire to visit Braj and see for himself the places in and around Mathura which were associated with the līlās of the divine couple. During a brief pilgrimage he is said to have rediscovered the original location of Vrindaban and also a sacred pond called Rādhākuṇḍa which have become the main centres of the Gauḍīya sampradāya in Braj.

On his return to Bengal he instructed two disciples named Rūpa and Sanātana, officials at the Muslim court of Gauḍa, to settle in Braj and complete the rediscovery of the sites associated with the amorous and pastoral adventures of Kṛṣṇa. Rūpa and Sanātana went to Vrindaban where they were later joined by their nephew Jīva and other disciples, the most important of whom were Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Raghunāthadāsa and Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa. These disciples, who became known as the Six Gosvāmīs, founded temples and religious communities and wrote works which explained the theological and philosophical principles underlying Caitanya's mode of devotion. Caitanya himself seems to have done little to organize his followers into a sampradāya. This was achieved by his companions Nityānanda and Advaitācārya and by the Six Gosvāmīs.

In concentrating upon the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, Caitanya and his followers were continuing a tradition of erotic religiosity which may be traced back through the songs of Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa, Jayadeva's Gītagovinda, the early Bengali **caryāpadas** of the Buddhist **Siddhas**, and other Tantric and śākta elements which were predominant in the religious culture of eastern India. The Gauḍīya scholars did not present their doctrines in theistic philosophy of the traditional type, as represented by commentaries on the **Brahmasūtras** and other universally acknowledged scriptures, but adapted the classical aesthetic theory **(rasaśāstra)** traditionally used for analysis of poetry and drama. Rūpa Gosvāmī was the prime exponent of this blend of aesthetics and psychology cum theology which provided Caitanya's emotional **bhakti** with a theoretical framework and subsequently influenced other **sampradāyas**, including those of Nimbārka and Vallabha. The emotions felt by the devotee who contemplates the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā were exhaustively classified in terms of the aesthetic theory used in the analysis of erotic court poetry of the classical Sanskrit period. **Bhakti** was thus represented as, in the words of S. K. De (**Early History of the Vaisṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal, Calcutta 1961, p. 169**) 'a literaryerotic emotion transmuted into a deep and ineffable devotional sentiment, which is intensely personal yet is impersonalised into a mental condition of disinterested joy'.

Attendance upon idols of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, contemplation of their divine love, and chanting of the names of the Lord are the chief preoccupations of Gauḍīya devotees, but Caitanya himself is often worshipped in the form of an idol, sometimes accompanied by Nityānanda, the two of them being considered as incarnations of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. The main centres of the sect are at Nabadwip, Puri, and Vrindaban and its membership includes householder gosvāmīs who have custody of important temples, lay devotees, and groups of ascetics. Followers are grouped into **parivāras** ('families') each of which is associated with one of 'the sixty four mahantas', a collective term for the main disciples of Caitanya and other prominent members of the movement.

Nimbārka sampradāya

Most scholars agree that Nimbārka was active before 1300, the majority placing him in a twelfth century, others in the tenth or eleventh. He appears to have been a Tailaṅga brahmin from the Bellary District of Karnataka who travelled northward and settled in Mathura of in the vicinity of the nearby Goverdhan hill. There is no evidence that his **samppradāya** had any widespread influence until the sixteenth century when it participated in the general upsurge of devotion to Kṛṣṇa. Nimbārka's philosophy, like that of Rāmanuja, is another attempt at explaining how god can be distinct from matter yet ultimately have some intimate connection with the world and individual souls. Whereas Rāmānuja used the analogy of soul and body to explain the relationship between god and the world, Nimbārka viewed the relationship in terms of cause and effect rather than substance and attribute. The individual soul is considered to be the same as **brahman** but different in so far as it is atomic while **brahman** is all-pervasive. As material cause this highest **brahman**, equated with the personified Kṛṣṇa, enables the eternal and subtle forms of mind and matter (**cit** and **acit**) to become manifest in gross form. The individual soul, ignorant of its true nature, can only be released through the grace of Kṛṣṇa combined with **bhakti**, the first stage of which is complete surrender.

Later philosophers of the **sampradāya** dwelt more upon the significance of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, regarding them as the highest form of existence (**paramatattva**), Kṛṣṇa being the embodiment of bliss (**ānandasvarūpa**) and Rādhā the embodiment of delight or ecstasy (**āhlādasvarūpiṇī**). The worship of the divine couple on equal terms, as a god engaged in eternal love play with his female śakti, is characteristic of the **sampradāya**, most other Vaiṣṇavas showing a tendency to concentrate upon only one of the pair. The devotee, by emulating the role of a female attendant (**sakhī**) of Rādhā, aspires to be accepted into the celestial Vrindaban where he may witness the eternal and transcendent love play of the divine couple.

Members of the Nimbārka **sampradāya** are found all over North India, as well as in Bengal and Nepal. There are many followers in Braj, the spiritual centre of the **sampradāya**, but their chief religious authority, known as Śrījī Mahārāj, has his headquarters at Salemabad near Jaipur (called Parashurampur by followers of the sect). The **sampradāya** consists of both householders, including the **gosvāmī** families which have custody of various temples, and ascetics (**vairāgīs**) who are organized in groups called **dvāra** or **akhāṛā**, each of which has an elected **mahanta**. Twelve **dvāras** were established by pupils of Harivyāsadeva, a sixteenth century leader of the sect who gave the foremost of his disciples, Paraśurāma, a sacred black stone (śālagrāma) which is highly revered in the sampradāya. In the eighteenth century some of the variāgīs organized themselves into militant groups (called anī or akhāṛā), as did many Rāmānandīs, in order to oppose hostile groups of Śaiva ascetics.

Viṣṇusvāmī sampradāya

It seems that followers of Viṣṇusvāmī must have been prominent in the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries in southern India when the concept of there being four Vaiṣṇava sampradāyas was formulated. None of his works is extant, hence next to nothing is known about his philosophical position. The insignificant number of devotees who declare themselves to be members of his sampradāya are engaged in the worship of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and do not appear to have preserved any of his original śuddhādvaita philosophy. By the late sixteenth century the decline of Viṣṇusvāmī's Rudra sampradāya was so advanced that followers of Vallabha were able to declare themselves to be its modern representatives, describe their philosophy as śuddhādvaita, and fabricate the story that Bilvamaṅgala, an ācārya of the Viṣṇusvāmī sect, had nominated the young Vallabha as his successor.

Vallabha sampradāya

The traditional dates for the lifetime of Vallabha, a Tailaṅga brahmin whose family came from Andhra Pradesh, are 1478-1530. He is said to have travelled extensively in his youth before settling down to family life at Adail, near the confluence of the Ganges and Yamuna at Allahabad. The spiritual centre of his sect, however, was a temple he had built on the Govardhan hill in order to house a deity called Śrīnāthajī which he is said to have discovered during a pilgrimage to Braj. His philosophy is expounded primarily is commentaries on portation of the **Brahmasūtras** and **Bhāgavatapurāṇa**. The highest **brahman**, represented by Kṛṣṇa, is the **substratum** of apparently contradictory attributes and is present in all levels of existence, gradations from divine to material existence being dependent upon the proportions in which he allows his manifestations as bliss (**ānanda**), consciousness (**cit**) and 'being' (**sat**) to be apparent. He is thus both the inherent and instruemntal cause, pervading the world in a multiplicity of forms but without undergoing any fundamental change. The individual soul is controlled by the highest **brahman** acting as an inner force but remains lost in the world until, through divine grace, it realizes its essential nature. The importance which Vallabha gave to the role of grace, referred to as **puṣṭi**, led to his **sampradāya** being known as the Puṣṭimārga. No actions performed by the individual soul can oblige Kṛṣṇa to impart his grace, all we can do is cultivate humility and devotion and dedicate everything to kṛṣṇa. The **mantra** of initiation used in the Puṣṭimārga is a formula which expresses the initiate's dependence on Kṛṣṇa and his willingness to dedicate everything - mind, body, and wealth - to his service.

Vallabha was eventually succeeded by his second son viṭṭhalanātha who introduced concepts borrowed from the emotional form of devotion current in the Gauḍīya **sampradāya**. He also elaborated the service of the deity Śrīnāthajī and took up residence in Gokul, a village near

Mathura, and made several journeys to Gujarat where the **sampradāya** was attracting a large number of adherents from the wealthy trading class. Special emphasis was placed on devotion to the child Kṛṣṇa and a style of worship was developed in which devotees could enjoy the good things of life provided they first made a token dedication of them to Kṛṣṇa. Towards the end of his life Viṭṭhalanātha gave each of his seven sons a deity, thereby forming seven branches of the sect, called **gaddīs**, the leadership of which was inherited by their agnatic descendants. As time went by the descendants of Vallabha came to be regarded as semi-divine personages. Other **sampradāyas** have hereditary gurus, but none of them has dveloped the notion of an inherently sacred family to such an extent as the Puṣṭimārga. The natural consequence of a system where wealth and divine status are an automatic inheritance was that later descendants lived in pontifical luxury and were tempted to take advantage of their obsequious devotees, a moral decline that culminated in various scandals during the last century which considerably damaged the reputation of the **sampradāya**, though also encouraged attempts by some worthy successors and sectarian scholars at improving its image.

With the accession of Aurangzeb things became difficult for the seven **gaddīs** in Braj. In 1669 Śrīnāthajī was removed for safety from the temple at Govardhan and, like several other Vaiṣṇava deities in Braj, was taken out of the area. Śrīnāthajī eventually found refuge in the Rajput kingdom of Mewar where the ruler granted land in a valley in the Aravalli hills north of his capital at Udaipur so that a new temple could be built. The town which grew up around the new temple became known as Nathdwara and is today the most important place of pilgrimage for Puṣṭimārga devotees. Deities belonging to the seven **gaddīs** also found their way to Rajasthan and Gujarat where they received the protection of local rulers and were more accessible for the large number of devotees the **sampradāya** had acquired in western India.

Rādhāvallabha sampradāya and other rasika sects

Apart from the main **sampradāyas** there are other smaller Vaiṣṇava sects which have evolved as a result of the inspiration of devotional poets. Such groups have little interest in formal theology or philosophy since they aim to generate in the devotee an experience of the delight and emotion (**rasa**) inherent in the amorous play of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. This emphasis on emotional experience through identification with participants in the eternal **līlā** has led to the use of the term **rasika** to describe devotees who follow such a path. Their devotional attitude is an extension of the type of **bhakti** formulated in the Gauḍīya **sampradāya** by Rūpa Gosvāmī and his followers.

The Rādhāvallabha **sampradāya** has evolved among devotees inspired by the lyrics of Hita Harivaṁśa, a poet and saint who lived in Vrindaban during the sixteenth century. Two works are attributed to him which are regarded virtually as canonical texts by members of the **sampradāya**, one being a collection of eighty-four lyrics in the Braj dialect of Hindi and the other a Sanskrit work entitled **Rādhāsudhānidhi**. The sect which grew up among his followers, under the ledership of **gosvāmīs** descended from him, is named after the deity he worshipped, called

Rādhāvallabhajī, for which a temple was built in Vrindaban. His lyrics are descriptive of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, their eternal love play, and their sporting in the bowers of Vrindaban (**nityavihāra** and **nikuñjalīlā**) which are the only aspect of Kṛṣṇa mythology whichwere relevant for Hita Harivaṁśa and his followers. The central theme is the beauty and perfection of Rādhā, contemplation of whom leads to spiritual experience and helps to make Kṛṣṇa accessible to the devotee.

There are two branches of the **sampradāya**, the Bindu parivāra which consists of the **gosvāmīs** and their followers, and the **Nāda** parivāra which consists mainly of **sādhus** and **brahmacārīs** who maintain a guru-pupil system of leadership. Outside of Braj followers of the **sampradāya** are scattered across Panjab, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and Bihar.

Svāmī Haridāsa, a younger contemporary of Hita Harivaṁśa, lived as an ascetic in Vrindaban and began the worship of a deity called Bānke Bihārī Jī. He was also a poet whose lyrics have gained canonical status among his followers. One of his two collections of verses is called **Siddhānta ke pada**, though they contain hardly anything in the way of philosophy, and the other entitled **Kelimāla**, describes the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Their eternal love play is regarded as the highest expression of divine love and only Rādhā's attendants or handmaidens (**sakhīs**) may enter the bower and witness their eternal delight, thus the followers of Haridāsa emphasize the need to emulate the **sakhīs**, an attitude which has earned them the appellation **sakhī sampradāya**.

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His followers are divided into two opposing factions: the gosvāmis who claim descent from his brother and have custody of the temple of Bānke Bihārījī, and the ascetics who maintain a guru-pupil line of succession. The schism seems to have occurred early in the eighteenth century over the question of the custody and worship of the deity. Since then the **gosvāmīs** have claimed to belong to the Viṣṇusvāmī **sampradāya** while the ascetics have affilliated themselves to the Nimbārka **sampradāya.**

There are two **sampradāyas** which were formed by followers of devotees who were influenced by Svāmī Haridāsa and Hita Harivaṁśa. (121) The praṇāmī **sampradāya** is based on the teachings of Prāṇanātha whose guru, Devacandra, was a pupil of Hāridāsa. Prāṇanātha was born in Jamnagar (Gujarat) in 1618 and became associated with Chatrasāla, Rājā of Bundelkhand. The main centre of the sect is at Panna and Jamnagar remains an important place of pilgrimage for its followers.

The Lalitā **sampradāya** was formed by folowers of Vaṁśī Alī, who was born in Vrindaban in 1707. He wrote several works in Sanskrit and Hindi and, like Hita Harivaṁśa, emphasized the importance of Rādhā. His sect claims affiliation with the Viṣṇusvāmī **sampradāya** and Lalitā, the foremost of Rādhā's companions, is regarded as its ultimate guru. The main centre of the sect is the Lāṛilījī temple at Jaipur.

Śuka sampradāya

The Śuka sampradāya is one of the larger sects of more recent foundation and derives its name from an immortal **brahmacārī** of the Purāṇas. It was founded by Caraṇadāsa who was born in 1703 at Dehra in the state of Alwar and later settled in Delhi. His followers, known as Caraṇadāsīs, have no restrictions of caste or sex for their teacher and may be either ascetics or householders, the latter being mainly members of the trading class. Their principal scriptures are the Bhāgavatpurāṇa and Bhagavadgītā in translations which are partly attributed to Caraṇadāsa who has also left some original works, the most important being **Bhaktisāgara**.

NOTES

The following abbreviations are used in the notes :

AS	**Audumbarasaṁhitā**
PP	**Padmapurāṇa (uttarakhaṇḍa)**
R	**Rāmapaṭala**
VDSM	**Vaisṇava dharma suradruma mañjarī**
VSK	Vaiṣṇava saṁskāra kaustubha
SD	**Sādhanadīpikā**
SK	**Sampradāya kalpadruma**
SM	**Satisiddhānta mārtaṇḍa**
SS	**Svadharmāmṛta sindhu**
HBV	**Haribhakti vilāsa**

1- *candanāguru karpūracora kuṇkuma rocanāḥ*
jaṭāmāṁsī kapiyutā śakter gandhāṣṭakaṁ viduḥ
candanāguru hrīverakuṣṭha kuṇkumasevyakāḥ
jaṭāmāṁsī muram iti viṣṇor-gandhāṣṭakaṁ viduḥ
candanāgurukarpūratamāla jalakuṇkumam
kuśīdaṁ kuṣṭhasaṁyuktaṁ śaivagandhāṣṭakaṁ śubham
svarūpaṁ candanaṁ coraṁ rocanāgurum eva ca
madaṁ mṛgadvayodbhūtaṁ kastūrīcandrasṁyuktam
gandhāṣṭakaṁ vinirdiṣṭaṁ gaṇeśasya maheśituḥ

Śāradātilaka 4.78-81, as quoted in Vāchaspatyam and Śabdakalpadruma.

2. Some say that it is made from the bile of a cow or is produced if a drop of rain falls on the head of a cow while a certain star is in the same longitude as the sun (i. e. **svātinakṣatra**).

3. See the dictionaries of Apte and Monier-Williams for scientific names of the various plants which may be identified as the ones mentioned in **Śāradātilaka**.

4. **Harṣacarita**, ucchvāsa 2, p.21 :

   atha lalāṭantape tapati tapane likhitalalāṭikāpuṇḍrakair alakacīracīvarasaṁvītaiḥ svedodabindumuktākṣavalayavāhibhir dinakarārādhananiyamā ivāgṛhyanta lalanālalāṭendubhiḥ

5. Ibid., ucchvāsa 1, p. 15 :

   tamālaśyāmalena mṛgamadāmodganiṣyandinā tilakabindunā mudritam iva manobhavasarvasvaṁ vadanam udvahantī

6. Ibid., ucchvāsa 3, p. 39 :

   tīrthamṛdā gorocanayā ca racitatilakaḥ

7. Ibid., ucchvāsa 1, p. 9 :

   paśupati jaṭāmukuṭamṛgāṅkadvitīyaśakalaghaṭitasyeva sahajalakṣmīsamāliṅgitasya lalāṭapaṭṭasya manaḥśilāpaṅkapiṅgalena lāvaṇyena limpantam ivāntarikṣam.

8. Ibid., ucchvāsa 1, p. 3 :

   tapobalanirjitatribhuvana jayapatākābhir iva tisṛbhir bhasmapuṇḍrakarājibhir virājitalalāṭājirā

9. Ibid., ucchvāsa 3, p. 46 :

   tiraścyā bhasmalalāṭikayā bahuśaḥ śirordhvadhṛtadagdhaguggulusantāpasphuṭitakapālāsthipāṇḍurarā jiśaṅkām iva janayantam

10. Bachhofer, plates 19-22.

11. Ibid., plates 144-7.

12. Mathrua Museum no. 00.A 27.

13. E.g. Mathura Museum nos. 00.863 and 34.2543.

14. Mathura Museum nos. 14.406 and 14.392-5.

15. Mathura Museum nos. 18.1555 (Śiva), 18.1512 (Gaṇeśa), and 54.3837 (Rudra).

16. Jouveau-Dubreuil, pp.61-2.

17. Varadachari, p.165.

18. Sastri, p.486.

19. Raman, p.87. The form of sectarian mark most commonly depicted in these southern temples is that of the Teṇkalai branch of the Śrī **sampradāya**, often omitting the central red streak.

20. According to Rose, p.120, Jainas are said to wear a mark of saffron, that of the Śvetāmbaras being a round **bindu** and that of the **Digambaras** being a thick vertical line. He also mentions, p. 121, a sect called **Suthrā-shāhīs** who paint the forehead black. For Saura markings cf. note 69 and for those worn by some of the Muslim faqīrṣ cf. note 105.

21. *ūrdhvapuṇḍre tripuṇḍraṁ yaḥ kurute sa narādhamaḥ*
bhaktvā viṣṇugṛhaṁ puṇḍraṁ sa yātī narakaṁ dhruvam.

As quoted in VDSM P. 89 HBV p. 171, and SM p. 359. cf. also PP 253. 14-20, p. 1806 and SD pp. 74-7. SM pp. 324-6, 349-50, 352-8, and 364 ff. gives several citations from Śaiva works in support of the **tripuṇḍra**, some of which state that only ash should be used for the **tripuṇḍra** and only clay for the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra**.

22. HBV p. 172. SD p.77 gives similar quotations.

23. *viprāṇāṁ ūrdhvapuṇḍraṁ syāt tilakaṁ tu mahībhṛtaḥ*
paṭṭākāraṁ tu vaiśyānāṁ śūdrāṇāṁ tu tripuṇḍrakam

PP 253.15, p. 1806. SD p. 79 and SM p. 319 quote **Brahmapurāṇa** to the effect that **brahmins** should wear the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra, kṣatriyas** the **tripuṇḍra,** **vaiśyas** a half-moon shape (**ardhacandra**), and **śūdras** a circle or **bindu.** This, however, is theory rather than practice, for PP states, 253-17 p. 1806, that the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** is in no way forbidden to all and even a **kṣatriya** etc. should wear one of he is a devotee of Viṣṇu :

ūrdhvapuṇḍraṁ tu sarveṣāṁ na niṣiddhaṁ kathaṁ cana
dhārayet kṣatriyādyo'pi viṣṇubhakto bhaved yadi.

Quoted by SD p. 79 and SM p. 348.

24. Bandopādhyāya, p. 363.

25. cf. Briggs, p. 17, who describes some of these variants.

26. Wilson, p. 126.

27. cf. Briggs, p. 16, for further details of the use of ashes. Several references to the widespread belief that ashes help to avert the evil eye, promote fertility, and fortify those who apply them are cited by Gonda, p. 179 note 116.

28. Bṛhajjābālopaniṣad, 3.25 ff., p. 210.

29. Ibid., 4.12 ff., p. 212

30. Ibid., 4.32 ff., p. 213

31. *tripuṇḍraṁ kāreyet paścād brahmaviṣṇuśivātmakam. Ibid, 4.10, p. 211. brahmaviṣṇumaheśāṇāṁ trayagnīnāṁ ca dhāraṇam guṇalokatrayāṇāṁ ca dhāraṇaṁ tena vai śrutam. Ibid., 4.36, p. 213.*

Other triads are also related to thetripuṇḍra and the ūrdhvapuṇḍra, as noted in the following section, p. 14

32. *mānastokena mantreṇa mantritaṁ bhasma dhārayet ūrdhvapuṇḍraṁ bhavet sāmaṁ madhyapuṇḍraṁ triyāyuṣam*

Ibid., 5.1 p. 213.

33. *traivarṇīkānāṁ sarveṣām agnihotrasamudbhavam*
idaṁ mukhyaṁ gṛhasthānāṁ virajānalajaṁ bhavet
virajānalajaṁ caiva dhāryaṁ proktaṁ maharṣibhiḥ
aupāsanasamutpannaṁ gṛhasthānāṁ viśeṣataḥ
samidagnisamutpannaṁ dhāryaṁ vai brahmacāriṇā
śūdrāṇāṁ śrotriyāgārapacanāgnisamudbhavam
anyeṣām api sarveṣāṁ dhāryaṁ caivānalodbhavam
yatīnāṁ jñānadaṁ proktaṁ vanasthānāṁ viraktidam
ativarṇāśramāṇāṁ tu śmaśānāgni samudbhavam

Ibid., 5.3 ff., p. 213

34. Ibid., 5.8, p. 213

35. Ibid., 5.11-15, pp. 213-4.

36. *bhasmasaṁdigdhasarvāṅgo bhasmadīptatripuṇḍrakaḥ*
bhasmaśāyī ca puruṣo bhasmaniṣṭha iti smṛtaḥ

ibid., 5.20, p.214.

37. Wilson, p.4.

38. Ibid., p. 160.

39. Bandopādhyāya, pp. 363-6. Various unspecified Śaiva tilakas are also illustrated by Pai, plates between pp. 58 and 59, and Tripathi, p.65, who also gives some Śākta ones on p.78.

40. Rose, p.120.

41. *hareḥ padākṛtim ātmano hitāya madhyacchidram ūrdhvapuṇḍraṁ yo dhārayati sa parasya priyo bhavati sa puṇyavān bhavati sa muktibhāg bhavati.*

Hiraṇyakeśīśākhā, as quoted in VDSM p.87, SM p.313, and SS P.27 HBV p.177 gives a slightly different version:

hareḥ padākrāntim ātmani dhārayati yaḥ sa parasya priyo bhavati sa puṇyavān madhyacchidram ūrdhvapuṇḍraṁ yo dhārayati sa muktibhāg bhavatīti

SD p. 75 also gives this version, but with slightly different word order.

42. AS pp.332-3, HBV p. 174, R p.51, SD p.73, SK pp.157-8, SM pp. 318, 324, 342-5, 350-SS p. 27, VDSM p. 88, and **Smṛtisaṁdarbha (Vyāghrapādasmṛti 20 ff.)** pp. 2493-4.

43. *iṣṭapūrtādikaṁ sarvaṁ niṣphalaṁ syān na saṁśayaḥ*
ūrdhvapuṇḍravihīnas tu saṁdhyākarmādikaṁ caret
tatsarvaṁ rakṣasair nītaṁ nārakaṁ cāpi gacchati
snānaṁ dānaṁ japo homaḥ svādhyāyaṁ pitṛtarpaṇam
vyarthaṁ bhavati tatsarvam ūrdhvapuṇḍraṁ vinā kṛtam

As quoted in AS pp.332-3 and VDSM p. 88.

44. *tasmād yasya śarire tu ūrdhvapuṇḍraṁ dhṛtaṁ bhavet*
tasya dehaṁ bhagavato vimalaṁ mandiraṁ smṛtam

As quoted by **Sevāvicāra**, p.4. The printed edition of PP (253.3, p.1805) gives **ūrdhvapuṇḍro dhṛto**, and śubham for **smṛtam**.

45. *ūrdhvapuṇḍraṁ mṛdā saumyaṁ lalāṭe yasya dṛśyate sa cāṇḍālo'pi śuddhātmā pūjya eva na saṁśayaḥ*

As quoted by HBV p.173, SK p.157, and SM p. 336

46. *aśucirvāpyanācāro manasā pāpam ācaran*
śucir eva bhaven nityam ūrdhvapuṇḍrāṇkito naraḥ

Brahmāṇḍapurāa, as quoted by VDSM p.88 and SS p.26.

47. *ūrdhvapuṇḍradharo martyo gṛhe yasyānnam aśnute*
tadā viṁśatkulaṁ tasya narakād uddharāmyaham

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, as quoted by HBV p. 174.

48. *ūrdhvapuṇḍradharaṁ vipraṁ yaḥ śrāddhe bhojayiṣyati*
ākalpakoṭi pitaras tasya tṛptā na saṁśayaḥ

Padmapurāṇa, as quoted by HBV p.174 and VDSM p.88. The printed edition of PP (253.8, p.1805) gives hṛṣṭā for tṛptā, while SM p. 344 gives tuṣṭā.

49. *ūrdhvapuṇḍradharo martyo mriyate yatrakutracit*
śvapāko'pivimānastho mama loke mahīyate

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, as quoted by HBV p. 174

50. *ekāntino mahābhāgāḥ sarvabhūtahite ratāḥ*
sāntarālaṁ prakurvanti puṇḍraṁ haripadākṛtim
madhyacchidreṇa saṁyuktaṁ tadviddhi harimandiram

Mārgaśīrṣamāhātmya, as quoted by VDSM p. 91 and SS p. 26. SD p. 70 and SM p. 329 quote a passage from Padmapurāṇa which begins with the same two lines.

51. *nāsādi keśaparyantam ūrdhvapuṇḍraṁ suśobhanam*
madhye chidrasamāyuktaṁ tad vidyāddharimandiram
vāmapārśve sthito brahmā dakṣiṇe tu sadāśivaḥ
madhye viṣṇuṁ vi jānīyat tasmān madhyaṁ na lepayet

As quoted by HBV p.176. SK p.160 and SM pp.329-30 give the same passage with the variants **vāmabhāge and madhye.**

52. *ūrdhvapuṇḍrasya madhye tu viśāle sumanohare*
lakṣmyā sārdhaṁ samāsīno devadevo janardanaḥ

PP 253.2, P.1805 quoted by HBV p.173. SM p. 329 and Nimbārka texts VDSM p.90 and SS p.28 give an alternative quotation from PP 253.25, p.1806 :

ūrdhvapuṇḍrasya madhye tu viśāle sumanohare
sāntarāle samāsīno haris tatra śriyā saha
53. *saśriyaṁ tilakaṁ kuryāt sāyujyādiphalapradam*
tasya viṣṇur bhavet tuṣṭomuktiś caiva karosthitā

śriyam ekāṁ tu yaḥ kuryād dvirekhātilakaṁ vinā
tasya lakṣmi bhaved ruṣṭā dharmādiś ca vinaśyate

R p. 51. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa remarks, SD pp. 72-3, that followers of Rāmānuja like to enlarge their tilaka and fill in the centre with a red śrī made from turmeric. This, he says, is because they worship not Viṣṇu alone but the divine couple Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, the form of worship which is put forward in the Padmapurāṇa.

54. Devarthachariar, p.136.

55. Ibid., pp.131-2. See also notes 31 and 32 above. Siṁa, pp. 327-8, refers to an interpretation given by some of the Rāmānandi ācāryas according to which the two vertical lines represent Jñāna and vairāgya and the **biṇdu** is a sign of emotional devotion (**rasātmaka bhakti**). Alternatively, he says, it may be suggested that the lines represent **brahman** and the soul while the **bindu** represents **māyā**.

56. **Urdhvapuṇḍra kā vai jñānika sūkṣmatattva** by Jagamohanalāla Śrīvāstava, Bhind (Gwalior) 1914, 2nd. edn. 1957.

57. *kañja¯kāraṁ samaṁ madhye dhārayeḍdharimandire*

As quoted by SS p.27.

58. *ūrdhvapuṇḍraṁ mṛdā kuryān madhye śūnyaṁ prakalpayet*

As quoted by VSK p.6 and SS p.27.

59. *likhanti bhujamūlato na khalu śaṇkhacakrādikam*
vicitraharimandiraṁ na racayanti bhālasthale
lasattulasimālikāṁ dadhati kaṇṭhapīṭhe na vā
guror bhajanavikramāt ke iha te mahābuddhayaḥ

Rādhāsudhānidhi, verse 81, p.50.

60. *matpūjāhomakāle ca sāyaṁ prātaḥ samāhitaḥ*
madbhakto dhārayen nityam ūrdhvapuṇḍraṁ bhayāpaham

Padmapurāṇa, quoted by HBV p.171.

61. *anāmikā kāmadoktā madhyam āyuḥkarī bhavet*
aṇguṣṭhaḥ puṣṭidaḥ proktas tarjanī mokṣadāyinī

As quoted by VSK p.9, SD p. 76, SS p. 29. R p.51 gives a different verse which says that the second finger gives pease and that the middle one causes one to thrive :

śāntidā' nāmikā proktā madhyamā puṣkarī bhavet
aṇguṣṭhaḥ puṣṭidaḥ proktas tarjanī mokṣadāyinī

62. *nāsikāmūlam ārabhya lalāṭāntasamanvitam*
sādhikāṇgulāntarālam adhikaṁ tūttarottaram
rekhādvayavinirmittaṁ samṛjuṁ harimandiram
vrīhimātraṁ pṛthuṁ pārśve caturaṇgulalambakam

Quoted by VDSM pp.89-90 and SS p.26.

63. *śyāmaṁ śāntikaraṁ proktaṁ raktaṁ vaśyakaraṁ tathā*
śrīkaraṁ pītam ityāyuḥ śvetaṁ mokṣapradaṁ śubham
vartulaṁ tiryag acchidraṁ hrasvaṁ dīraghataraṁ tanum
vakraṁ virūpaṁ baddhāgraṁ bhinnamūlaṁ padacyutam
aśubhraṁ rūkṣam āraktaṁ tathā' naṅgulikalpitam
vigandhaṁ apasavyaṁ ca puṇḍram āhur anarthakam

Padmapurāṇa as quoted by HBV p. 175 and SD pp. 72 and 74. The printed edition of PP (253.40 ff., p.1806) gives **mokṣakaraṁ** for **mokṣapradaṁ**,

dīrghaṁ tataṁ for **dīrghataraṁ**, **vakrāgraṁ** for **baddhāgraṁ**, **chinnamūlaṁ** for **bhinnamūlaṁ**, **aśubhaṁ** for **aśubhraṁ**, and *avasahyaṁ* for **apasavyaṁ**.

64. *An anonymous couplet quoted by an informant.*

65. *lalāṭe keśavaṁ dhyāyen nārāyaṇaṁ athodare*
vakṣaḥsthale mādhavaṁ tu govindaṁ kaṇṭhakūpake
viṣṇuṁ ca dakṣiṇe kukṣau vāhau ca madhusūdanam
trivikramaṁ kandhare tu vāmanaṁ vāmapārśvake
śrīdharaṁ vāmavāhau tu hṛṣikeśaṁ tu kandhare
pṛṣṭhe tu padmanābhaṁ ca kaṭyaṁ dāmodaraṁ nyaset
tatprakṣālanatoyaṁ tu vāsudeveti mūrdhani

Padmapurāṇa, as quoted in SD pp. 71-2, SS p.28, R pp.49-50, HBV p.170. The printed edition of PP (253.45-8, pp.1806-7) gives **madhavaṁ ca kaṇṭhakūvare. śridharaṁ bāhuke vāme hṛṣikeśaṁ tu śrotrake, trike** for **kaṭyaṁ, -toyena vāsudevaṁ tu** for **-toyaṁ vāsudeveti**. Additional mantras may be repeated while touching the twelve marks. Gonda, pp. 72 and 180, notes 125-7, has pointed out that although the expressions of homage and humility are non-vedic the order of the twelve names, occurring already in Baudhāyana's **dharmaśāstra**, is traditional.

66. *ye lagnakaṇṭhatulasīnalinākṣamālā*
ye bahumūlaparicihnitaśaṇkhacakrāḥ
ye vā lalāṭapaṭale lasadūrdhvapuṇḍrās
te vaiṣṇavā bhuvanam āśu pavitrayanti

As quoted by VSK pp.24-5 and SS p.40. The printed edition of PP (252.69, p.1805) gives **kaṇṭhalagna** for **lagnakantha** - and **-phalake** for **-paṭale**. Also cited in SK p.156 and SM p.312 which give **pariśobhita-** for **paricihnita-**.

67. Ramakrishnananda, pp. 127-8.

68. Ibid., pp.136-7.

69. Wilson, pp. 5-6, discussing the sects mentioned by Ānandagiri. He also says, p.162, that Sauras or Saurapatas (worshippers of Sūrya) wore a tilaka of red sandalwood. Bandopādhyāya, p.367, illustrates a Saura tilaka consisting of a white horizontal bar with a smaller red square drawn below it between the eyebrows.

70. A story illustrating this point is given below concerning Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā is section 6, pp.43-4.

71. *cakraṁ bibharti vapuṣābhitaptaṁ balaṁ devānām amitasya viṣṇoḥ*
sa eti nākaṁ duritāni vidhūya prayānti yad yatayo vītarāgāḥ

Vāskalasaṁhitā, as quoted by VDSM p.96, SD p.90, and SS p.35.

72. *pavitram iti agniḥ agnir vai sahasrāraḥ sahasrāro nemiḥ neminā taptatanur brāhmaṇaḥ sāyujyaṁ salokatām āpnoti*

Maitravaruṇaśākhā, as quoted by VDSM p.96, SD p. 90 and SSP. 35.

73. *dhṛtordhvapuṇḍraḥ kṛtacakradhārī*
viṣṇuṁ paraṁ dhyāyati yo mahātmā
svareṇa mantreṇa sadā hṛdi sthitaṁ
parāt paraṁ yan mahato mahāntam

Kaṭhaśākhā, as quoted by VDSM p. 96, SD pp. 92-3, and SK p. 157.

74. *ebhir vayaṁ urukramasya cihnair aṇkita¯ loke subhaga¯ bhava¯maḥ*

tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padaṁ ye tu gacchanti la¯ñchita¯ḥ

As quoted by SD p.89, SS p.34.

75. *śaṇkhaṁ cakraṁ gadāṁ padmaṁ nityaṁ vai dhārayet tu yaḥ*
tulasīkāṣṭha jāṁ mālāṁ kaṇthe vai dhārayet tu yaḥ
tilakāṇ dvādaśān eva nityaṁ vai dhārayed budhaḥ
dharmādharmaṁ tu jānāti sa ca vaiṣṇava ucyate

PP 69.6-7, p.1388.

76. *taccihnair aṇkitaḥ śrīśapadaṁ prāpnotyasaṁśayam*
śaṇkhacakrāṇkanaṁ kuryād brāhmaṇo bāhumūlayoḥ
hutāgninaiva saṁtaptaṁ sarvapāpanuttaye
ckraṁ vā śaṇkhacakre vā tathā pañcāyudhāni vā

Ibid., 252.30-31, p.1803.

77. *nāmamudrādvayaṁ nīcaiḥ śaṇkhaṁ ekaṁ tayor api*
madhye tataḥ parśvayos tu dve dve padme ca dhārayet
vāme'pi caturaḥ śaṇkhān nāmamudre ca pūrvavat
cakram ekaṁ gade dve dve pa¯rśvayor iti bhedataḥ
lala¯ṭe ca gadām ekāṁ nāmamudrāṁ tathā hṛdi
trīṇi triīṇi ca cakrāṇi karṇamūladvayor adhaḥ
ekam ekaṁ anyeṣu tilakeṣu ca dhārayet
sampradāyas tu bhadraṣ tu dhāryā śiṣṭānusārataḥ

Ibid., 30.9-13, pp.1302-3/

78. *nārāyaṇāyudhair nityaṁ cihnitaṁ yasya vigraham*
pāpakoṭi yutasyāpi tasya kiṁ kurute yamaḥ.

As quoted by Sevāvicāra, verse 2, p.3 and commentary on p.4.

79. R p.49.

80. *na kadācin mṛdā tiryak nyased ūrdhvaṁ na bhasmanā*
ubhayaṁ candanenaiva vartulaṁ na kadācana.

As quoted by SS p.29. SD p.79 gives a similar quotation. Although ashes should not be used for the **ūrdhvapuṇḍra** some Rāmānandī ascetics do smear their bodies with them. These include the **Mahātyāgīs** (cf. Burghart's notes to is paper entitled 'Secret Vocabularies of the Great Renouncers of the Rāmānandī Sect' which include a relevant extract from Siddhāntapaṭala) and the Khākhīs mentioned by Wilson, p.61, though according to Ja'far Sharif, p.175, the term Khākhī applies to members of the Jalālī order (founded by Sayyid Jalālu-d-dīn, disciple of the Suhrwardī saint Bahā'ul Ḥaqq of Multan), who covered themselves with pipe clay. The same author, pp.169-75, also describes other orders of **faqīrs** participating in the Muharram festival, including the Angīṭhī Shāh order whose members smeared themselves with pipe clay or cow dung ashes.

81. As noted by Gonda, pp. 71-2 and 179-80 notes 115-21, in his discussion of Vedic **mantras** used for consecrating the clay which are indicative of an historical connection between the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and ancient ascetic circles.

82. *śālagrāmaśilālagnaṁ candanaṁ dhārayet sadā*
sarvāṅgeṣu mahāśuddhisiddhaye kamalāsana

As quoted by SS p.30.

83. *parvatāgre nadītīre bilvamūle jalāśaye*
sindhutīre ca valmīke harikṣetre viśeṣataḥ
viṣṇoḥ snānodakaṁ yatra pravāhayati nityaśaḥ
puṇḍrāṇāṁ dhāraṇārthāya gṛhṇīyāt tatra mṛttikām
śrīraṅgaveṇkaṭādrau ca śrīkūrme dvārake śubhe
prayāge nārasiṁhādrau vārāhe tulasīvane
gṛhītvā mṛttikāṁ bhaktyā viṣṇupāda jalaiḥ saha
dhṛtvā puṇḍrāṇi cāṅgeṣu viṣṇusāyujyam āpnuyāt

PP 253.35-8, p.1806, quoted by HBV p.177, VDSM p.92, SK pp.162-3, SM p.321, and SS p.30.

84. *tulasīmṛttikāpuṇḍraṁ yaḥ karoti dine dine*
tasyāvalokanāt pāpaṁ yāti varaṣakṛtaṁ nṛṇām

As quoted by VSK p.10, SS p.30, and SM p.321 which gives the variant ...yāti varṣaśatodbhavam.

85. Wilson, p.19.

86. *gopīcandanaliptāṅgo vaiṣṇavo viṣṇutatparaḥ*
sarvadoṣaiḥ pramucyate yathā gaṅgāmbhasā punaḥ
brahmahā madyapānī ca svarṇasteyī tathaiva ca
gurutalpagamo vā'tha śūdro vā'py atha vai dvijaḥ

PP 30.4-5, p.1302.

87. *tena tīrthaṁ kṛtaṁ sarvaṁ jambhudvīpeṣu sarvadā*
tilakaṁ kurute yas tu gopikācandanadravaiḥ
sarvapāpavinirmukto yāti viṣṇoḥ paraṁ padam
pituḥ śrāddhādikaṁ tena gayāṁ gatvā tu vai kṛtam
yena vā puruṣeṇāpi vidhṛtaṁ gopīcandanam
madyapo brahmahā caiva goghno vā bālahā tathā
mucyate tatkṣaṇād eva gopīcandanadhāraṇāt

PP 68.96-9, p.1387

88. Quoted by VDSM p.93 and SS p.31.

89. Quoted by VSDM p.93 and HBV p.179.

90. *yasyāntakāle khaga gopīcandanaṁ bāhvor lalāṭe hṛdi mastake ca*
prayāti lokaṁ kamalālayāprabhor gobālaghātī yadi brahmahā bhavet

As quoted by HBV p.179. Similar quotations appear in SM p.322.

91. A late Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣad included in Īśādiviṁśottaraśatopaniśadaḥ, pp.642-4.

92. *kṛṣṇagopīratodbhūtaṁ pāpaghnaṁ gopīcandanam*
tatprasādāt sarvadaiva caturvargaphalapradam
tilamātrapradānena kāṇcanādrisamaṁ phalam
kuṇkumaṁ kṛṣṇagopīnāṁ jalakrīḍāsu sambhṛtam
gopīcandanam ityuktaṁ dvāravatyāṁ sureśvaraiḥ
kṛṣṇagopī jalakrīḍākuṇkumaṁ candanair yutam
tilamātrapradāyedaṁ punātyā daśamaṁ kulam
gopīcandanakhaṇḍaṁ tu cakrākāraṁ sulakṣaṇam
viṣṇurūpam idaṁ puṇyaṁ pāvanaṁ pītavarṇakam

Gopīcandanopaniṣad 15-18, pp.643-4.

93. This passage is based on the account of the legend given by Ramakrishnananda, pp.217-8. The statement that the idol had to be concealed from Muslims, who are unlikely to have been active in the South before or during the time of Rāmānuja, indicates that this is a later adition to the story or that the legend arose long after his death.

94. Caitanyacaritāmṛta, madhyalīlā 18.13-14, p.329.

95. This work has been published, but since a printed copy was untraceable references given here are to an undated manuscript of forty folios (cf. bibliography).

96. *ūrdhvapuṇḍram ṛjuṁ śoṇaṁ daṇḍākāraṁ suśobhanam*
kauṇkumaṁ yasya bhāle tu sa vai bhāgavatottamaḥ

Urdhvapuṇḍramārtaṇḍa, f.9v., citing **Padmapurāṇa**.

97. *namaḥ śrīkṛṣṇapādābjatalakuṇkumapaṇkayoḥ*
rucayed aruṇāśāśvan māmakaṁ hṛdayāmbujam

Ibid., f.9r.

98. *ūrdhvapuṇḍrasya madhye tu lakṣmīsthānaṁ prakalpayet*
hāridreṇa tu cūrṇena kuṇkumena sugandhinā
puṇḍrāṇāṁ āntarāle tu haridrāṁ dhārayecchriyam

Ibid., f.18v.

99. *yasyāṅgaṁ dhūpaśeṣeṇa mārjitaṁ pratyahaṁ hareḥ*
lalāṭaṁ dhūpapuṇḍraṁ vā yamasyāpi yamo hi saḥ
dhārako dhūpaśeṣasya yatra tiṣṭhati matpriyaḥ
tat prayāgasamaṁ viddhi triveṇyā sadṛśo hi saḥ
dhāriṇaṁ dhūpaśeṣasya yo nindati narādhamaḥ
sa yamasya vaśe gantā maddrohī bhavitā naraḥ

Quoted by VSK p.10 and SS p.30.

100. Dubois, pp.111-2, discussing practices in South India early in the last century, describes the **tilaka** of the followers of Rāmānuja and says that the white clay is also called nāmam. In his footnote to Dubois' remarks on Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava emblems, Beauchamp says 'it is impossible to conceive anything more obscene than the meaning of these two marks of Hindu worship, namely the **liṅgam** and the **nāmam**.'

101. Siṁha, pp. 181-2, 327-53. He deals particularly with certain branches of the **sampradāya** which he considers to be rasika. The **tilakas** he illustrates for these branches have incorporated such additional elements to the basic Rāmānandī tilaka as a crescent moon, candrikā (a pendant-shaped motif), rings bearing the name of Rāma, and marks made with stamps bearing the names of Rāma and Sītā. These additions are applied with wooden or metal stamps on either side or above the tilaka and are given interpretations inspired by the idealized love of the divine couple. He says that generally the **tilakas** of the **rasika** branches do not have a siṁhāsana since it denotes sovereignty, an attribute of Rāma which is not given prominence in their mode of worship.

Bandopādhyāya, p. 366, gives some other Rāmānandī variants. One of these, with parallel white lines (not joined at the bottom) flanking a red line which passes through a red bindu and branches into three at the top, he attributes to the Rāmānandīs of Dwarka. Another variant shows a red śrī line broken up into a series of dots, and yet another has the vertical lines of the **tilaka** broadened into yellow wing shapes and decorated with a line of red dots just below the upper edges. Similar variations are also illustrated in Tripathi, pp.26-7.

102. Rose, p.120, mentions a sect of 'Śeshji' founded by 'Mādhev Achārya' (=Mahdhva ?) which has a **tilaka** like a **tulasī** leaf and is called **'śrī gunjaṇ malī'**. He could possibly be referring to a **tilaka** worn by followers of Kṛṣṇadāsa Guñjamālī, a disciple of Nityānanda who preached Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism in West Panjab.

103. Only the first of these types was seen in Vrindaban during the period of research for this study. The other varieties are described by Ghurye, pp.191-2, and Wilson p.224. Ghurye remarks that the Kabīrpanthīs also wear a white cap.

104. Tripathi, p.44.

105. Ja'far Sharif, pp. 169 and 296, describes two orders of **faqīrs** whose members wear forehead markings, one being the Benawā or Āzād order, followers of which are also called Alif Shāhīs because they wear a long black line resembling the letter **alif** running down the forehead and the nose, and the other that of the Imāmshāhīs who draw a narrow line from the tip of the nose to the forehead and smear themselves with ashes.

106. Descriptions are given by Gosvāmī, pp. 751 and 754.

107. Caitanyabhāgavata, ādikhaṇḍa, adhyāya 10, pp. 97-8, SD p.77 gives a quotations which endorses Caitanya's remarks on the cremation ground :

yaccharīraṁ manuṣyāṇām ūrdhvapuṇḍraṁ vinā bhavet
draṣṭavyaṁ naiva tat tāvat śmaśānasadṛśaṁ bhavet.

108. *jaṁgalī deśa ke loga saba paraśurāma kiya pāraṣada*
jyõ candana kau pavana nīmba puni candana karaī
bahuta kāla tama nibiṛa udai dīpaka jyõ haraī
śrībhaṭa puni hari byāsa saṁta māraga anusaraī
kathā kīratana nema rasana hari guṇa uccaraī
gobinda bhakti gadarogagati talaka dāma sada baida hada
jaṁgalī deśa ke loga saba paraśurāma kiya pāraṣada

Bhaktamāla, verse no.137, p.784. A verse given in the commentary to this and some other editions praises the tilaka as being equivalent to a hundred baths, the ornament of a woman and a king, and the essence (**tattva**) of all ages; it beautifies and head of a brahmin, is recommended in the Vedas, guarantees success (siddhi), helps one to step across the three worlds, and without it there worlds, and without it there can be no profit from one's works.

109. utkarṣa tilaka aru dāma kau bhakta iṣṭa ati vyāsa ke
Ibid., verse no. 92, p. 603.

110. *mohī bṛndāvana raja sõ kāja*
mala mudrā syāmabiṁduni tilaku hamārau sāja

jamunā jala pāvana su hamārē bhojana braja kau nāja
Bhakta-kavi Vyāsajī, p.212

111. *bhaye suta tīna bāṭa nipaṭa navīna kiyau*
eka ora sevā eka ora dhuna dharyo hai
tīsarī ju ṭhaura śyāma baṁdanī au chāpa dharī
karī aisī rīti dekhi baṛau soca paryau hai

eka ne rupaiyā liye eka ne kisora jū kō
śrī kisoradāsa bhūla tilaka lai karyau hai
chūpe diye svāmī haridāsa nisi rāsa kīnau
vahī rāsa lalitādi gāyau mana haryau hai

Bhaktamāla (Bhaktirasabodhinī ṭīkā), verse no.373, p.609.

112. *jo tū mālā tilaka dharai*
tau yā tana mana brata kī lajjā aura nivāhu karai
kari bahu bhānti bharosau hari kau bhava sāgara utarai
manasā bācā aura karmanā tṛna kari ganatu dharai
satī na phirata ghāṭa ūpara tī sira siṁdūra parai
vyāsadāsa kau kuṁjabihārī prīta na kahū bisarai

Bhakta-kavi Vyāsajī, p.246.

113. *jānibe kō pana pṛthīpati mana āī*
yō duhāī lai divāī mālā tilaka na dhāriyai
māni āni prāna lobha ketakani tyāga diye
chie nahīn jāta jāni begi māri ḍāriyai
bhagavānadāsa ura bhakti sukha rāsa bharyau
karyau lai sudesa besa rīti lāgī pyāriyai
rījhyau nṛpa dekhi rījhi mathurā nivāsa pāyau
maṁdira karāyau harideva sō nihāriyai

Bhaktamāla (Bhaktirasabodhinī ṭīkā), verse no. 621, p.904.

114. This version of the story is based on accounts given by Ṭaṇḍan, pp.382-7, and Mital, pp.289-91. Dates of Gokulanātha are given in SK pp.62-3, 128-9.

115. *jayati viṭṭhala suvana prakaṭa ballabha balī*
prabala pana karī tilaka mala rākhī
khaṇḍa pākhaṇḍa daṇḍī vimukha dūra kari
haryau kali kāla tuma nigama sākhī

Quoted by Mītal, p.291. Ṭaṇḍan says that such an incident is more likely to have taken place during the reign of Shāh Jahān, though all sectarian accounts say otherwise. Ṭaṇḍan gives quotations from several other poets which refer to this incident, the earliest account of which is by the Gujarati poet Gopāladāsa Vyāravāle, a contemporary of Gokulanātha.

116. Siṁha, p.335.

117. Ibid., p.337 and **Mahārājacaritra**, pp.53-6. In the latter the bindu applied by Sītā is referred to as her **saubhāgya cinha**. ān pp.134-5 the author states that the biography of Rāmaprasāda was written shortly after his death in 1804.

118. Siṁha, p.318.

119. An account of this incident, based on **Śyāmānandaśataka** by Śyāmānanda's pupil Rasikānanda, is given in Śrī Śyāmānandacaritaāmṛta by Kanhaiyālāla Adhikārī, pp.34-6.

120. Haridāsa Dāsa, p.19.

121. Information about these two sects is given by Gosvāmī,pp.689-722.

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